THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 167 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 11, 1948 NUMBER 11

The Shape of Things

THE SUCCESS OF ROBERT SCHUMAN IN HIS second attempt to form his second French Cabinet fills a dangerous vacuum at a critical moment in Western negotiations with Russia. It allays the fears that at this juncture a general election would be forced which might result in an open clash between the Gaullists and the Communists. Whether the forces of the center will now be able to achieve economic and political stability is another question. The support of the Socialists, who take a large share of responsibility in the new Cabinet, has been won by an agreement to raise wages, thus weakening the austere anti-inflation program that had been contemplated. Perhaps, however, other measures will be taken that will moderate price rises until production and exports are sufficiently increased. Americans should be the last to criticize the French for failing to take bitter anti-inflation measures. The Socialist deputies and unions, as well as the Catholic ones, have long held wage increases in abeyance, to give the government a chance to halt the rise in prices. As in this country, it failed to do so, and the workers could no longer be restrained from demanding wage boosts. The Communists, who have no interest in the French economy or the "Middle Force," had pressed for wage increases from the beginning. The moderate leaders of French labor could not have prevented damaging strikes and a gain in Communist influence had they consented to further reductions in the workers' standard of living.

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MORE NOTEWORTHY THAN ANYTHING HE said were the auspices under which President Truman delivered the first speech of his election campaign. The meeting he addressed in Detroit's Cadillac Square was a joint enterprise of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. What had drawn together labor's two great houses was the Taft-Hartley act and the oppressive cost of living. For both these afflictions—and for much besides—the two wings of the trade-union movement placed the blame squarely on the Republicans' Eightieth Congress. For them, the election presents no profound problem and calls for no searching of the soul. They oppose the party that fostered the Taft-Hartley law and let prices soar; they favor the nominee who vetoed that law and who calls for price controls. And whatever they may think of Henry Wallace as an individual, they want no part of a movement that can serve only to elect their enemies and defeat their friends. To these simple propositions, President Truman addressed himself in Detroit. It was not his oratory, we imagine, that kept the crowd with him—for the most part, his speech was a ponderous appeal to fear—but rather the bare recital of the record of "that do-nothing Republican Congress," which voted the rich "a cut in taxes" while it voted labor "a cut in freedom." That Truman is the majority choice of trade unionists is probably less of a tribute to him than a measure of the Republicans' failure to hold even that segment of the labor vote that they won two years ago. The G. O. P. obviously does not count on a labor vote; not one important Republican appeared on a Labor Day rostrum. What it does count on is that the unionists, lukewarm about Truman, will stay away from the polls altogether. Should that happen, the President warned, labor will deserve what it gets—a Republican Administration and "an era of fear."

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NOT OFTEN IN HISTORY DOES A NATIONAL leader twice suffer betrayal by his allies, each time on a scale so vast as to cost his country its independence. Such was the tragic fortune of Eduard Benes, co-founder of the Czechoslovak Republic, a man of honor and good-will who deserved a better fate. The chances are we shall never know what thoughts passed through his mind as he lived out his last sad months, a virtual captive at Sezimovo, his country home. But they must surely have been bitter thoughts, whether they revolved around the cowardly and fatuous betrayal by the Western powers in 1938 or the more subtle and aggressive maneuver of the Soviet-directed Communists in 1948. In pondering his own life, in a sense the life of the Czech Republic, Benes may well have weighed the two betrayals. He may have rehearsed his doomed efforts to make of his country a bridge between East and West. If so, perhaps he saw then what he had not seen in the days of his restoration after the war—that a bridge is a means of

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1948, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

fruitful communication in time of peace but does not in itself create peace. On the contrary, when it connects two opposing powers, it is bound to be captured or mined by one side or the other. He had lived to see the day when the Western countries acknowledged the wrong they had done at Munich; yet he could not take sides between them and the forces pressing on him from the East. The result was the tragedy of all small neutrals caught in the crossfire of the great powers. He had lived, too, to see his "bridge" occupied in effect by the Russians, his intimate friend and Foreign Minister, Jan Masaryk, driven to suicide, and himself belittled in the Russian press as a "vainglorious" man who lacked the foresight he had claimed in his "Memoirs." *The Nation* recently had the honor to publish those memoirs in part. We commend them now to our readers, along with the sentiment expressed by Dr. Benes at his last public appearance: "There can be no peace or calm in this world until there is full honor and respect of one individual for another." ✶

JAMES CAREY, IN TESTIFYING BEFORE THE House Labor Committee, which is investigating Communist influence in certain trade unions, made it clear that he was doing so only under subpoena; he challenged the committee's right to inquire into the internal affairs of a union, and he predicted that the United Electrical Workers, the union under scrutiny, would shortly put its own house in order. In his testimony, he added nothing to what he has said before publicly—that the present leadership of the U. E. W. is Communist and that the union under this leadership is on many issues a Communist front. The only new note was his rather surprising assertion that employers find it less difficult to deal with Communists in the U. E. W. than with anti-Communists. The incumbent president of the Electrical Workers, also testifying under subpoena, said he did not know or care whether or not any officer of the union was a Communist and professed complete ignorance of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, to which Mr. Carey charged the policies of the union were strictly geared. We don't put much stock in Mr. Fitzgerald's "ignorance." He was on much firmer ground when, like Carey, he challenged the committee's right to "try" the U. E. W. He pointed out that a U. E. W. business agent named Kennedy was a Congressional candidate against Carroll Kearns, a member of the inquiring committee, and asserted that Kearns had announced his intention to "subpoena three of the most active persons in Mr. Kennedy's campaign." Representative Kearns "made no comment." Fitzgerald also recalled that in 1946 the U. E. W. had been very active against Representative Kersten, another member of the committee, in his campaign for reelection. When Mr. Carey argued that the committee had no right to inquire into the internal af-

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fairs of a union, Representative Kersten replied that Congress does have the right to study the effects of a union's policies on the general public. Perhaps. But a Congressional committee which includes two members who have been opposed for reelection by the union they are "studying" can hardly be trusted to make such fine distinctions.

*

HJALMAR SCHACHT'S ACQUITTAL OF charges that he was a major Nazi offender is almost impossible to justify. From time to time during the Hitler regime, personal acquaintances of Schacht—and he had many in this country because of his long career in German finance—used to report that he was not in sympathy with the regime and would use his high position to restrain it. If so, he was singularly unsuccessful. An ardent supporter of Hitler before the Reichstag fire, Schacht became president of the Reichsbank shortly after the Nazis' accession to power. He was subsequently appointed Minister of Economics and Plenipotentiary General for War Economy. Even after Schacht and Goering fell out in 1937, the financier retained his position at the Reichsbank for two years. He also picked up a new post, Minister without Portfolio, which he was not to resign until 1943. A scant twelve months before Hitler's suicide, this "innocent" was tossed into a concentration camp for participating in a conspiracy against the Führer. That was ten years after he had invented and applied the controls of trade and exchange which built up that same Führer's war economy and tied smaller slave nations to its chariot. The Nazi program seemed predestined to inflation, and would have been in serious trouble on this account without Schacht's guidance in the field of money and credit management. Indeed, it is quite possible that if he had refused to cooperate—as he could easily have done by fleeing to Switzerland—economic difficulties would have engulfed Hitler and millions of lives would have been saved. Now that Schacht has been cleared both by the Nürnberg tribunal and a German court, there is presumably no reason why he, like Talleyrand, should not take a fourth oath of loyalty and once again serve the Fatherland.

*

NOWHERE HAVE THE GYRATIONS OF current Southern politics been more in evidence than in the primary elections of Louisiana and Texas. Little more than a decade ago, Louisiana thought it had seen the last of the notorious Long machine. Huey had been assassinated, five of his henchmen were in jail, including Governor Leche, and one had shot himself through the head. Last year, Huey's brother Earl, a crude and violent man who had testified against the Kingfish in the Senate's investigation of election frauds, was entered as the choice of the revived Long machine and swept into office by the largest vote the state had ever given a candidate for the governorship. Vastly encouraged, the same machine proceeded to groom Huey's son, Russell, for the seat of the late Senator Overton. A faithful and deliberate replica of his father, far more personable and cultivated than Uncle Earl, young Long was expected to slide in without much trouble. But the latest count from the state shows him no more than 10,000 votes ahead of Judge Robert F. Kennon, the "good-government" candidate. The trouble appears to be that Earl, unlike Huey, made no bones about who was to pay for the gaudy reforms he had promised. His $80,000,000 tax program cost his nephew heavily in votes. From which it would appear that in Louisiana every man still wants to be a king, but not if he has to put up the cash for his crown. . . . The Texas affair is almost as topsy-turvy. In the closest race the state has ever known, former Governor Coke R. Stevenson is leading Representative Lyndon B. Johnson for the Senate by fewer than 100 votes out of a total of some 989,000 votes cast, with the outcome probably in doubt until the State Democratic convention meets to certify the returns. The new twist is that Senator "Pappy" O'Daniel, who withdrew from the race rather than face defeat, is now being seriously considered as the Republican nominee should Johnson, more or less a New Dealer, be declared the winner. That O'Daniel should consider a Republican nomination worth ten cents in Texas is considered a sign of Dewey's growing strength in that state.

*

CHARLES A. BEARD WAS A FREE SPIRIT WHO wanted his fellow Americans to be free. To liberate them from idolatry of the Constitution, he wrote the history of its economic origin—"An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution." Yet he stoutly rejected the slavery to fate implied by economic determinism. When several teachers were discharged from Columbia University for their opposition to American participation in World War II, Beard, though he advocated participation, resigned his professorship to emphasize support of academic freedom. His many historic works, which set the fashion in this country for regarding history not merely as an affair of wars and politics, but also as the whole social life of the people, were pointed as much toward the future as toward the past. As a political scientist, he contributed to the liberation of municipal government to do its work of planning and social service. He was, during the great depression, a powerful advocate of the necessity for the federal government to plan in order that workers might be free from unemployment and farmers from bankruptcy. Planning, he said, was part of the American tradition; the notion that it was contrary to rugged American individualism was historically a fraud. It seemed to him a turning aside from this task rather than a defense of American freedom when the country took part in the recent war. If, as most

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of his admirers believed, he misinterpreted World War II and the motive that took us into it, even that mistake was marked by the unfailing vigor and integrity of his mind.

*

INCOMPLETE AND TENTATIVE FIGURES issued by the Department of Labor, show that unit labor costs in manufacturing went up almost as much as average wholesale prices between 1939 and 1947. This is because, for the most part, there has been little increase in output per man hour, while wage rates have, of course, risen markedly. If the figures accurately represent the facts, and if this situation continued, there would be little hope for any substantial reduction of the prices of manufactured articles without reductions of wages. Corporate profits are, of course, huge, but their size depends more on the great volume of production than on the increase in the margin of profit per unit of product. There is reason to believe, however, that even if the department's figures reveal the facts correctly up to 1947, the trend has now been reversed. Reports to employers' organizations, such as the National Industrial Conference Board, indicate recent increases in productivity. Two years after World War I we had the beginning of a short period in which the gain in output per man-hour was at one of the highest rates ever experienced. Such a development is to be expected now, because of the decline in critical shortages of materials, the large installations of new and more efficient equipment, and the adjustment of both management and labor to their jobs, after the abnormal conditions of war and reconversion.

*

AT THE CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL Education Association last July, the New York State delegation's motion that Governor Dewey be censured for his record on education was tabled. The Republican nominee's sigh of relief on learning that news must now seem to him to have been slightly over-anticipatory. For, irritated by Mr. Dewey's claim of important progress for education under his administration, the New York State director of the N. E. A. has issued a point-by-point refutation which controverts the Governor on every issue. In their article, Dewey's Report Card, on page 284 of this issue, Aaron N. and Rubin Maloff indicate other discrepancies between Mr. Dewey's promises and performance.

*

IN *THE NATION* OF AUGUST 28 IT WAS stated that, prior to the meeting of C. I. O. vice-presidents in Pittsburgh last month, the executive board of the United Automobile Workers had voted against indorsing President Truman for re-election. We regret that our information on this score was wrong. The board voted to support the President.

East Mark, West Mark

IT IS a curious but significant fact that the conflict for power between Russia and the Western Allies should have come to a head over currency. This technical economic subject is usually believed suitable only for learned textbooks or the financial pages of the press, yet the present contest for power in Berlin revolves about it, just as it has been the crux of heated political campaigns in the United States.

With an inflated currency, such as has existed in Germany since the war, it is impossible to stimulate production, prevent black markets, or distribute income and goods with any great justice. Devaluation, uncomfortable as it is, was required to make a beginning of economic recovery. Since the military authorities of the Big Four could not come to a currency agreement for the whole of Germany, the Western powers decreed devaluation for their zones alone. This unilateral action infuriated the Russians; when new currency was substituted for old in the western sectors of Berlin, they immediately retaliated by instaling the blockade, and the hottest battle of the cold war was under way.

It is possible for two countries having separate currencies to trade with each other, though fluctuating exchange rates create enormous difficulties. But when the boundary line runs right through the middle of a great city, and when that city is supposed to be the economic center of a nation, the situation becomes intolerable. It is as if, in New York, one kind of dollar circulated on the west side of Broadway, and another kind, worth perhaps only a quarter, circulated on the east side.

The Russians were placed in a critical dilemma by this situation. On the one hand, they could accept the new western currency and adjust their own monetary policy accordingly. But this would be to acknowledge Western economic supremacy; their part of Germany would then become as dependent on the western zones (which have a far greater potential of production) as a minor member of the sterling area is on monetary and exchange management in London. On the other hand, they could outlaw the new and devaluated currency in their zones and employ either the old or another currency of their own; in this case, they would risk loss in the economic conflict of West and East, and disadvantage in terms of inter-zonal trade.

What the Russians did was to leap over both horns of the dilemma and land squarely on the back of the bull. They stopped trade altogether, with the aim of forcing the other powers to sanction the reintroduction of the Russian mark into the whole of Berlin.

This the Allies were apparently willing to do—but only on condition that they should be guaranteed a full share in the control of that currency. What is at

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stake, therefore, is adequate representation in the management of the whole Germany economy. If four-power accord can be maintained in the management of currency for Berlin, it might be reached also on the management of currency for the nation, and if this goal could be achieved, there would be far greater hope for German economic unification, at least as far as trade is concerned.

Wallace in the South

WHAT Henry Wallace tried to say in the South matters very little, most of his words having gone unheard and many of his speeches undelivered. Nevertheless, his journey, marked by violence and intimidation, may well turn out to have been the redeeming feature of an otherwise ill-advised candidacy. It was an act of courage that should not only pay dividends to the Progressive Party in November but contribute materially to the breaking up of antiquated social patterns below the Mason and Dixon Line.

On the purely political level, it is widely assumed that the Wallace strategists, anticipating a rowdy reception, sent their nominee south in order to win votes in the North. There is nothing discreditable in such a maneuver, but as matters worked out, the Southern campaign had effects far transcending this limited purpose. First, the eggs and tomatoes thrown at Mr. Wallace, the boos and catcalls that drowned out his words, and the knifing of one of his aides all served to dramatize the growing struggle of Southern Negroes to attain political rights denied them since Reconstruction days. Second, Wallace's insistence on addressing only unsegregated gatherings broke precedent in communities from Norfolk to Vicksburg, and a taboo violated with such fanfare can never again be quite as potent.

More than incidentally, this shattering of precedent is bound to affect the two major-party nominees, both of whom have talked of invading the South. With the Wallace pattern established, can Truman afford to address segregated audiences? If not, will the Police Commissioner of Birmingham repeat his famous dictum: "I ain't gonna let no darkies and white folks segregate together in this town"? Wherever he may choose to speak, the Secret Service presumably will see to it that no eggs and vegetables are thrown at the President of the United States. The new pattern will be strengthened still further, and Wallace is entitled to full credit for having forced the issue.

Indirectly, the episode has afforded an insight into Southern behavior that is by no means all on the discouraging side. In the general indignation over the assaults on the Wallace party, it is easy but unwise to overlook the effect on decent Southerners. James Wechsler, the New York *Post's* correspondent, reports that "the

More Authors and Publishers Ask for a Public Hearing

Space limitations last week prevented listing all of the authors and publishers who had signed a telegraphed petition to the New York Board of Education, asking that the ban on *The Nation* be lifted. In addition to those already listed, the signers were:

William Rose Benet	Elmer Rice
Truman Capote	Paul North Rice
Langston Hughes	William Saroyan
Richard E. Lauterbach	Sigmund Spaeth
A. J. Liebling	Jerome Weidman

Louis Untermeyer

Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.	Dana H. Ferrin
A. S. Barnes and Company	John Lowell Pratt
M. Barrows Company	H. Tanner Olsen
B. T. Batsford, Ltd.	Virginia B. Garrick
Book Find Club	George Braziller
Creative Age Press	Eileen Garrett
Creative Age Press	H. D. Vursell
Crown Publishers	Hiram Haydn
Crown Publishers	Robert Simon
Crown Publishers	Nat Wartels
John Day Company	Richard Walsh, Jr.
Dell Publishing Company	Helen Meyer
Dial Press	Burton C. Hoffman
Dial Press	George W. Joel
Doubleday and Company, Inc.	Douglas M. Black
E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc.	Nicholas Wreden
Follett Publishing Company	D. W. Follett
Greenberg, Incorporated	J. W. Greenberg
Harper and Brothers	Michael Bessie
Holiday House	Vernon A. Ives
Alfred A. Knopf, Incorporated	Harold Strauss
J. P. Lippincott Company	H. K. Bauernfeind
J. P. Lippincott Company	George Stevens
Longmans Green and Co., Inc.	Edward S. Mills
Julian Messner, Incorporated	Kathryn G. Messner
William Morrow, Incorporated	Thayer Hobson
New Directions	James Laughlin
W. W. Norton and Co., Inc.	George P. Brockway
W. W. Norton and Co., Inc.	Howard P. Wilson
Omnibook	Robert K. Straus
Pellegrini and Cudahy, Inc.	Walter V. McKee
Pocket Books, Incorporated	Herbert M. Alexander
Princeton University Press	Datus C. Smith, Jr.
Random House	Saxe Commins
William Sloan Associates	Helen K. Taylor
University of Minnesota Press	Margaret S. Harding
Vanguard Press	James Henle
Viking Press	Marshall A. Best
John Wiley and Son	Bradford Wiley
A. A. Wyn, Incorporated	Lawrence Hill
Yale University Press	Norman V. Donaldson

An answer to the telegram was received last week by the Ad Hoc Committee to Lift the Ban on *The Nation*. Andrew G. Clauson, president of the Board of Education, wrote the committee that since an appeal on the board's decision has already been taken by *The Nation* to the New York State Department of Education, the matter is "progressing in an orderly fashion," and the board therefore sees no further reason at this time for a public hearing.

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tumult wasn't the whole story." The trouble, in almost all instances, came from a small minority, often adolescents, and on all sides reporters heard expressions of regret and humiliation, though little of it reflected support of Mr. Wallace. Editorial opinion in North Carolina papers took the same tone, and both Governor Cherry of that state and Governor Wright of Mississippi deplored the treatment Wallace had received. Especially worth noting was the fact that there was no trouble where police authorities took their duties seriously. Mississippi's reception of the Progressive nominee was cold but correct, with the predictable result that Wallace gained less from his relative freedom in that state than from his virtual suppression in North Carolina. Add to a list as long as history one more proof that the best way to spread a man's influence is to gag him.

As we go to press, Governor Dewey has yet to follow President Truman's example in condemning the "highly un-American business" of denying to their common opponent the opportunity "to say his piece."

East-West Cooperation

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, September 4

WITH the French crisis still unresolved as I write, I will leave the subject of French politics and return to an old but fascinating question—"One world or two?" Ever since the disastrous Foreign Ministers' conference in London last November, I have been stubbornly insisting that the break between the Soviet Union and the West was not definitive and that eventually we would see another meeting of the Big Four. However, now that the Moscow negotiations are under way I hear people say: "All right, so the Ministers are meeting. But everything will end as badly as usual—it's simply impossible to work with the Russians." One answer to those skeptics is to be found in Geneva; so I went there last week to get it.

In Geneva the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe is busily preparing for its next full conference, which opens on September 27. The Executive Secretary of the E. C. E. needs no introduction to American liberals. Only last June Gunnar Myrdal was honored by them at a dinner in New York at which distinguished speakers, including Eleanor Roosevelt, rendered homage to him for his outstanding work on the Negro question. As Sweden's former Finance Minister, Dr. Myrdal is perhaps best known for his remarkable abilities both as economist and administrator. At the dinner I asked him: "In the light of your own experience do you agree with me that the only hope of European recovery lies in a new rapprochement between the United States and Russia, however difficult that may appear to be?" His reply was a single word: "Absolutely." When I pressed him for a fuller answer, he told me I could get the whole story in Geneva this fall.

When I arrived in the Swiss city I found the U. N. personnel gloomy and dispirited. The Economic and Social Council had been meeting for several weeks with results that were far from encouraging: there had been interminable speeches, acrimonious debate, frequent clashes between delegates ending in the usual division—five or six votes for the Soviet bloc and the rest against, regardless of the issue. But in the offices of Dr. Myrdal and his collaborators I immediately sensed the atmosphere of confidence that comes from effective teamwork. It was with a certain amount of envy that Mr. Malik, chairman of the Economic and Social Council, remarked: "The interim report of the Economic Commission for Europe is an encouraging example of what can be achieved when we are able to get down to practical measures with immediate consequences for the daily well-being of ordinary people. Our regional organization in Europe is successfully engaged, without serious political controversy, in a wide range of practical activities dealing with coal, electric power, steel, timber, conveyor belts, fertilizers, ceramic insulators, and other detailed matters. This fact is of very great importance and helpfulness for the future."

What impressed me most in Dr. Myrdal's review of E. C. E. activities was the fact that it has never once been necessary to settle a problem by a vote. Under his able leadership issues are tackled in a way that eliminates the monotonous East-West divisions we have come to regard almost as normal U. N. procedure.

The executive secretary of the E. C. E. is not a dreamer. "We have before us," he told me, "the concrete lessons of the recent war. During the war it was demonstrated that economic cooperation on both the national and international scale can achieve miracles. With all the reservations perfectionists may have about the accomplishments of UNRRA and Lend-Lease, these ventures furnished indisputable arguments in favor of economic cooperation." Dr. Myrdal attributes much of the commission's success to its all-European composition; at the start all the European members of the United Nations were invited to participate in E. C. E.—"except Franco Spain," he said with a wry smile. "E. C. E. has now been operating for eight months, and at no time have we felt we could not continue working together."

Another outstanding feature of the commission, he explained, is that it deals with practically every phase of European economic reconstruction. With its over-all knowledge of the situation, it is admirably equipped to cope with specific problems as they arise. As an example he cited the commission's successful campaign to increase European steel production. The key to the problem was to make more metallurgical coke available to the steel-

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producing countries. The fact that the Economic Commission already had subsidiary bodies dealing with coal and steel made it possible to take the necessary steps quickly without setting up special joint committees and the like. The same was true for timber. An interesting record of the commission's achievements is contained in the report, "A Survey of the Economic Situation and Prospects of Europe," published this year in Geneva. [See articles by Fritz Sternberg in *The Nation* of August 28 and September 4, 1948.]

At the end of our conversation I asked Dr. Myrdal: "Why on earth do we read so little in the foreign press about the work of the E. C. E.? Is it perhaps because your organization is ably demonstrating that one *can* work with the Russians?" He simply smiled. But I was not content to leave the question there. Talking with correspondents stationed in Geneva, I learned that they are regularly covering the commission's activities but that in many cases their stories are killed in the home office. I report this fact without comment.

Inquisition and Inflation

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, September 2

SPY-HUNTING provided the biggest if not the best news in Washington again this week, but there were indications that the undeviating pattern of the proceedings and the warmed-over testimony of ex-Communists were beginning to pall for the reading public. Further disclosures and interim reports by Budenz, Chambers, and the rest seem to have become—like the Berlin impasse—a permanent and accepted outline on the news horizon, regardless of their significance. And new topics sliced into the discussions on street corners and in lunch rooms—the arrival of cool weather and the egging of Henry Wallace. Despite the accumulating evidence in the financial pages of the press of far more important developments, the electioneering "spy" committees and nominee Thomas E. Dewey worked tirelessly at the line that the relief of a Communist-beleaguered Washington—"as fast as a Republican President can be elected," said Mr. Dewey—was the real issue on which the fate of the Republic depended.

Senator Homer Ferguson's special committee sent a few more ground swells into the press, as it continued gathering documents for an expected pre-election blast at Truman's "loyalty" program. This is largely an instance of Republican probers probing Democratic probers. The Administration's screening process, which has been attacked by liberals for its inquisitorial aspects, has now fallen under the surveillance of a new and grimmer crowd of inquisitors.

The persistent vagueness and softness of the defensive testimony by and about Alger Hiss has created a fine source of satire for Republican campaign speakers and for the school of journalists that works the line that Washington has been run by Communists since 1932. Westbrook Pegler, for one, has risen to the occasion with a series of blithering irrationalities, among the funniest and most poisonous he has ever written. They are crazy from beginning to end, but one laughs.

NONE of this wit, and nothing the committee has achieved in parading a sizable list of falsely accused, loyal Americans before the press, is very important compared with the threat of another depression which weaves its way implacably through the business columns in every newspaper every day.

Here is a single composite paragraph formed from financial headlines that appeared last week:

> Manufacturing profits up despite quarter's $1.1 billion sales drop. . . . Consumer credit sets new record—more than half of July total of $14,189,000,000 is made up of instalment items. . . . Steers rise to $41.40, setting new record. . . . Grocers fear a price break; buying with great caution. . . . Problem of 1930's revived by cotton—prospect of largest yield since 1937 poses a threat of expensive support. . . . Manufacturers' inventories climbed to a new record high of more than $30 billion at the start of August. . . . National Association of Purchasing Agents report hits sharp price rises—many advances not justified by latest wage increases, say purchasing agents. . . . Armament orders getting under way—one-seventh of $14 billion authorized has been placed in aircraft construction—industry disappointed. . . . Chamber of Commerce issues sixteen-page anti-depression guide.

Preston Delano, Controller of the Currency, said in his annual report this week that the inflation threatened "an economic disaster of the first magnitude" if not aborted. "There is something deeper and more fundamental involved here than simply the question of another depression and another downswing of the busi-

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ness cycle . . . What is on trial now in these United States is the basic question of whether a free-enterprise system can discipline itself. . . ."

In the light of these signs and portents the C. of C. pamphlet referred to above, "Business-Management Action Against Depression," is a study in futility. It is evidence that the same paralysis of imagination exists today among business men as among Congressional leaders. There is something Boy Scoutish and wistful about the chamber's sixteen-page pamphlet—all done out in such tricks of typography as first-letter acrostics (spelling, in this instance, A-C-T-I-O-N). From beginning to end the text deals in meaningless questions and unbelievably noncommittal verities: "Business fluctuations, like all of economic life, are affected by vast and complex forces. In recent years studies of these fluctuations have tended more and more to depend upon statistical data . . . there is no question that business judgments which are well-informed will be better judgments than those which are not. . . ."

Some of the recommendations for depression-busting: "Study past and current inventory-sales ratios in your company and in your industry . . . study the timing of any capital expansion you may be planning . . . don't treat your own business as if it were in a vacuum . . . don't figure on your own selling prices, once established, as the right prices for next month or next year; and don't neglect to make continuing adaptations in your product, your product-mix [*sic*], and your selling prices."

A C. I. O. memorandum issued almost simultaneously with the chamber's booklet strikes home to the single stark truth about the inflation—the fact that run-away prices have resulted in a tremendous shift of real wealth from salaried groups to business and manufacturing groups, and that many wage-earners already are living partially on credit. The memorandum states: ". . . in the steel industry this year wage increases will cost the industry about $160,000,000 to $175,000,000. Yet the price increases already announced will increase revenue by $640,000,000. . . . In the coal industry the wage increase has been estimated to cost about $150,000,000. Yet announcements of coal price increases total $500,000,000. It will cost five of the largest producers of automobiles $152,000,000 to increase wages. Yet these five companies will receive $580,000,000 in increased revenue as the result of the announced price increases."

Then the union's executive board recommended a four-point legislative program to fight inflation: enactment of an excess-profits tax; price control of basic commodities; federal authority to allocate and ration commodities in short supply; and control of bank and consumer credits.

All this legislation was once on the books, and throughout the war—it seems miraculous in retrospect—it prevented the inflation from rising beyond roughly 30 per cent. But to promulgate such a doctrine today, when the committees of the Eightieth Congress are zealously guarding the country from internal dangers, seems somehow to smack of radicalism. And President Philip Murray may be good for a few headlines when the Thomas committee gets finished with its Communists.

London *Express*—Canada Wide

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India's Difficult First Year

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, August 31 (By Cable)

ALL over India, there have been celebrations of the first anniversary of the achievement of independence. I watched Prime Minister Nehru unfurl the flag of free India from the ramparts of New Delhi's historic fort, and later address a crowd estimated at a quarter of a million. It was a sober, almost a mournful, crowd—in sad contrast with the jubilant, enthusiastic mass of humanity which, this time last year, swarmed around Nehru and the Mountbattens.

One cannot forget, especially on such an occasion as the first anniversary, how heavy a price India has paid for its freedom. First came the division into India and Pakistan, followed by mass slaughter and the forced migration of millions. New Delhi cannot settle down to the normal life of a capital city, for during the past year its population has increased by 500,000 people who cannot find shelter or permanent means of livelihood.

The refugee problem does not mean merely that five or six million people have been uprooted, losing many members of their families through murder or abduction, and almost all their property. There is also the psychological problem, the magnitude of which one cannot easily realize unless one mingles with these remnants of a once prosperous rural India.

The week before Gandhi's murder, last January, I asked one middle-aged Punjabi, who had obviously known better days before partition, how he felt about Gandhi's fast. "I wish he would die," the man quietly said. I was shocked, of course, but in discussing the matter with him without emotion, I found that he had lost nearly everyone in his family and nearly all his property except what he had carried with him to New Delhi. He had no home and was living under a canvas. Gandhi's exhortation to the Hindus to forget and forgive Moslem wrongs seemed criminal to this man.

Since then, I have traveled widely throughout India and seen the depth of discontent and disillusionment everywhere. In the middle of February, I saw the immersion of Gandhi's ashes at Allahabad, where at least 1,500,000 people had gathered to witness the ceremony. I listened to the animated conversation of university students who, like myself, were paying homage to Gandhi on the banks of the Ganges that early spring day. They deplored his murder, of course: "Father of the nation," they called him. "But no one will fast from now on," one of them added, "or restrain us, should the Moslems in Pakistan murder and loot."

Later in the summer, I visited parts of southern India where Communist activities are exceptionally vigorous. I asked some typical villagers how they felt about India's newly found freedom. "Freedom!" exclaimed one of them with bitterness, "I pay more than twice as much as I did last year for my dole of rice. The price of cloth has tripled. Sugar, fuel, and milk are often unobtainable." Communism appeals to some of them—especially the landless cultivator—because its propaganda here, discarding principles and ideology, fastens on the obvious social and economic maladjustments. A rural schoolmaster—perhaps a university graduate—realizing that his monthly income is no more than half that of the average industrial worker, finds an outlet for his misery in spreading Communist doctrines among his pupils. The latter seem to be good carriers of the infection.

NEHRU has visibly aged since becoming Prime Minister, but he has also grown in political stature. He is determined to follow Gandhi's magnificent precept of treating the Moslems generously. He finds his greatest obstacle in Pakistan's narrow and harsh policy. While a great many Hindus admire Nehru's idealism, they nevertheless critically and resentfully ask why, if Jinnah is going to establish an Islamic state in Pakistan, Nehru should talk of a secular state for India with equal rights for all.

Kashmir is, of course, constantly discussed everywhere. There is indignation over the fact that Pakistan, after having for weeks elaborately denied it was assisting raiders to enter Kashmir, now coolly admits direct participation in the adventure. Everyone in India wonders why the United Nations commission fails to render a clear verdict on this issue without further parleys and inquiries.

Within the next few months, India's Constituent Assembly must decide whether the nation shall remain for some more years within the British Commonwealth or become completely independent. Britain has certainly not advanced positive tokens of its impartiality concerning India's relations with Pakistan.

Hyderabad is also a sore spot. Kashmir, at any rate, is on India's northwest frontier, but Hyderabad is most inconveniently within India. The resentment over Churchill's recent efforts to encourage the Nizam, Hyderabad's feudal ruler, was greatly mollified by Attlee's firm han-

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dling of the old boy. Nevertheless, there is a general impression here that the Nizam would not have been so intransigent had the British authorities displayed impatience with him from the start of the controversy. Nor does Nehru entirely escape criticism. Many people think he has been weak and vacillating on this subject for too long. They do not realize that military operations in Kashmir and the need for vigilant control over anti-social elements throughout the country impose a heavy strain on the administration, making swift settlement of the Hyderabad problem difficult.

INDIA'S second year of freedom begins inauspiciously in an atmosphere of strain, suspicion, and acute discontent. Today, Nehru's worst headaches are inflation and the growing influence of business men at New Delhi. Last week, his able Finance Minister was compelled to resign under circumstances that brought the latter point vividly into prominence. There is tax evasion on a large scale, but no effective means has so far been devised to trap tax-dodgers. The provincial governments that follow Gandhi's campaign in favor of prohibition of liquor are thereby sacrificing large revenues; when they try to recoup their deficits in other ways, men who have made fortunes during and since the war resist the introduction of additional tariffs.

Nehru's social and economic policies are on trial. A progressive himself, in some respects a radical, he has not yet mustered sufficient strength inside his Cabinet to carry through policies that would at least create public confidence in the government's intent to place the interests of the common man over those of big business. Here, the Socialists and Communists have a made-to-order case, despite their sharp differences on ideological grounds. Political opponents do not usually make allowances for the difficulties of administrators. Candor, however, demands this acknowledgment: when one visualizes the numerous and intricate problems that have crowded upon Nehru during the first year of India's independence, the wonder is not that the administrative machinery is creaking so badly, but that it has not broken down.

POLITICS AND PEOPLE:

Don't Count Truman Out

BY ROBERT BENDINER

HAVING just read a remarkable little work entitled "How to Predict Elections" (Alfred A. Knopf), I am in a position to pass along two sterling bits of advice: (1) don't try, and (2) get rid of the idea that the 1948 election is wrapped up and ready for delivery to Governor Dewey.

I have a hunch that Mr. Louis H. Bean, the author of this book, is a little sheepish about the title. He is a scholar, a member of the American Statistical Association, a political prophet of good repute, and—if the Thomas committee will concede the possibility—a man with a long and distinguished record in government service. He tells you the ingredients that go into the business of prophesying elections, but the measurements, the proportions, the art of blending he shrewdly leaves to you.

For the elections of 1948 you take whatever quantities you think best of such materials as food prices, volume of employment, index of business activity, and relations with Russia. These you stir vigorously, making allowance for the ebb and flow of political tides going back to the Civil War, the extent of apathy in the electorate, and such complications as Henry Wallace and the Dixiecrats. If you are skilful enough to estimate all these factors accurately—as of November, of course—and give to each its true weight, you will be able to predict the election results. You should also be able to calculate the life expectancy of the planet and make a killing at the next running of the Kentucky Derby.

Should you ignore the teasing challenge of the title, however, you will find Mr. Bean's book a fascinating work and, if you are not a Republican, a rewarding one. Because even a rank amateur can see at a glance that most of the factors he cites are not operating this year in favor of the Grand Old Party.

High food prices, to begin with, do not make for that unrest among farmers that prompts them to call for a change. It is instructive, as Mr. Bean points out, to note where the Republicans made their greatest gains in the Congressional fights two years ago. While their popular vote rose less than 3 per cent in the ten chief agricultural states, it showed gains of 4 to 10 per cent in eight leading industrial states. Mr. Gallup is my authority for the startling information that "the West Central states, most Republican section of the country in the last two Presidential elections, are today the least Republican section outside the South." While the G. O. P. is supposedly much stronger nationally than in 1944, Dewey sentiment in this area shows no gain over the level of four years

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ago. Presumably, the New Yorker can still carry these West Central farm states, but the margin is narrow. It would be narrower still were it not for the roughly 3 per cent vote conceded to Henry Wallace. All of which may explain why Mr. Truman has decided to start his road campaign with a major farm speech at Dexter, Iowa.

At this point, the question naturally arises as to whether these same high food prices that help Truman in the farm belt won't kill him in the industrial areas. They were probably the crucial factor in 1946, when the Republicans gained 55 seats in urban areas instead of the 25 that Mr. Bean figures they had a right to expect in a mid-term election. But things have changed since 1946. Prices are higher, but the Democrats this time cannot be held chiefly to blame. After all, it was Truman who asked for a lowering of farm-price supports, and the Republicans who failed to take action. It is Truman who now asks for price controls (regardless of whether or not he surrendered them too easily when he had them) and the Republican Congress that refuses to give him the necessary legislation.

Most important, that part of the urban population that is in trade unions—or bound to trade unionists by family ties—has a grievance against the G. O. P. that it did not have in 1946, namely, the Taft-Hartley act. Indeed, there is the whole abysmal record of the Eightieth Congress, a record recommending the Republicans to the real-estate lobby, the oil lobby, and the National Association of Manufacturers, but hardly to low-income city folk in need of houses, schools, medical care, and an occasional lamb-chop. These facts have dimmed the memory of Truman's bungling in the railroad strike, which certainly cost the Democrats trade-union votes in 1946.

Dave Beck, of the West Coast Teamsters' union, and William L. Hutcheson, of the Carpenters', will no doubt swing some of their men for Dewey, and the few Communist-dominated unions of the C. I. O., numerically small, will whoop it up for Wallace. But the apparatus of the labor movement is at Truman's disposal right now. The American Federation of Labor came as close to outright indorsement of a Presidential candidate as it ever does when it set up a committee of its top leaders, under the chairmanship of George M. Harrison, to work for the Democratic ticket. Last week the anti-Truman dike thrown up by the liberal-labor forces last spring crumpled completely. The C. I. O. swung along by an executive-board vote of 35 to 12. The Ladies' Garment Workers took independent action in support of the Truman-Barkley ticket. Americans for Democratic Action and the New York Liberal Party, both influential in urban areas, unequivocally indorsed the President.

As for the other factors cited by Mr. Bean, employment and business activity are at all-time highs. Those Republicans who hopefully look back at the sweep of 1920 are invited by Bean to note that between May and November of that year farm prices dropped 20 per cent and industrial production fell off 15 per cent. The Republicans gained in every state of the Union, just as the Democrats gained in every state of the Union in 1932, following the big bust of '29. In the field of foreign relations, a continued stalemate on the Russian front can hardly hurt Truman, since his present policy has the indorsement of the Republicans, while a marked lessening of tension can only work to his advantage.

THIS brings us to the great question of the "political tides," and it is here that Mr. Bean makes his most original contribution. The casual observer is inclined to think that the Republican tide just set in two years ago and that, depending on what authority he consults, it has some six, ten, or even eighteen more years to run. I hope I do not shock my Republican readers too severely, therefore, when I report that in Mr. Bean's very capable opinion the Republican tide set in some twelve years ago and has already run out! It was that unobtrusive a tide.

If this ebb and flow that all political historians have marked were the only factor to be considered, and if it were immediate in its effects, the Republicans would have been in power since the Democrats reached their peak in 1936. Bean shows, in charts and text, how the recession of 1937-38 started the Democrats on the downgrade and how their strength "continued to wane for the following ten years under the impact of such issues as third and fourth terms for Franklin D. Roosevelt, management-labor difficulties, war, war-time political apathy, and finally rationing and shortages of goods and materials in 1946." In spite of the Democratic low of that year, which he attributes largely to apathy, the downward curve had already begun to flatten out. By the end of 1947, polls showed that 56 per cent of the voters were again in favor of a Democratic administration.

To refresh my memory, I looked back at *The Nation's* comments on the local elections of last November. This very column, carrying the subhead "G. O. P. Ebb Tide," reported Republican losses that were surprising, to say the least, coming only a year after the party's 1946 victory. Kentucky swung back into the Democratic camp after four years of Republican government; the five largest cities of Indiana went Democratic in spite of heavy Republican campaigning; and even upstate New York cities like Schenectady and Niagara Falls supplanted Republican mayors with Democrats, while Buffalo elected a Democratic council. Similar Democratic gains were recorded in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Washington.

This past spring, when the Democratic cause looked hopelessly black, party strategists confidentially pointed

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out that it was just as well for the President's stock to have reached rock-bottom that early in the year; it couldn't do anything but rise as the election approached. This sounded desperately wishful at the time, but there was something to it. Now that the President has hurdled the convention, many of those who were sourest on his candidacy have rallied to him, as he knew they would. The result is that his political graph is again on the upgrade, and on all sides we hear that there is to be a real election after all. The New York *Daily News* several times a week warns the Republicans against over-confidence. Arthur Krock, finding the outlook changed since July, reports "developments [that] have reduced the confidence of Republicans to the more prudent state of acknowledging that they must jettison much of their past to gain the victory." And statements from Pawling echo this new caution. Such sentiment creates a psychological momentum of its own. The odds are still on Dewey, but I predict we will hear less and less about his election by default.

Dewey's Report Card

BY AARON N. AND RUBIN MALOFF

FOR the first time in several decades, educational policy is a vital issue in establishing the qualifications of a Presidential candidate. Thomas E. Dewey, the efficient governor, and Tom Dewey, the self-styled liberal benefactor heading the G. O. P. ticket, will both be embarrassed by responsibilities they have disowned in the matter of public education: the governor, last winter, grudgingly sponsored an increased appropriation of $30,000,000 to local schools. This was his substitute for the $103,000,000 worth of state aid to education contained in the Young-Milmoe bill (supported by the Public Education Association and the upstate Educational Conference Board), and the candidate's party is on record as having refused to approve a federal-aid-to-education bill in the Eightieth Congress.

Dewey is expected to conduct his Presidential campaign this fall behind a façade of able administration and efficient state government. But no manner of press agentry can conceal the transparency of that façade in one regard: the candidate's record on education. In the Governor's annual message to the 1948 Legislature in Albany, he intoned: "Some programs . . . are not postponable. Education is one. The education we provide . . . must be extended to each school generation . . . If it is not, that generation will have been deprived of its opportunities irrevocably." The semester finals are over, the Governor's report card is in, and it is apparent that he has flunked Education.

The crux of the conflict over public education in New York has been the discharge of the state's responsibility to provide financial assistance to schools. Localities, hamstrung by the 2-per-cent tax on realty valuations and the 10-per-cent borrowing limitations, have long looked to Albany for help.

Since 1926, the Friedsam formula—providing for state aid on the basis of school population—has been the device by which the state allocates money to communities. Enacted during a period of expanding school registers, it served a good purpose, for a dozen years, by increasing state funds in centers where they were needed. Curricula were liberalized to encompass vital new services to students—until 1938, when school attendance began to shrink and state aid with it. By the time Dewey took office, the problem had become urgent; it was necessary to curtail established programs or revise the outmoded formula. When public pressure for modification of the formula became irresistible, Dewey—who had been adamant against it—yielded and, in a political right-about-face, pegged state aid for 1944-45 at the 1942 levels. The problem was not yet solved. Schools were caught in a vise between insufficient state aid and rising operational costs and expanding needs. Accordingly, the state-aid question was reintroduced in 1945. Again, the Governor temporized, rejecting recommendations of the Educational Conference Board but effecting insubstantial revisions of the formula.

The story repeated itself the following year, with gubernatorial vacillation resulting in minor improvements in the situation. In the light of the $500,000,000 state surplus, Dewey's parsimony smacked of obstinacy and political aspiration.

The seething Dewey-teacher conflict reached the boiling point during the school year of 1946-47. During the war, there were increases in departures of personnel, in class size, and in juvenile delinquency, as guidance and recreational services were cut. The year before, New York City alone dismissed 40,000 children daily without instruction because a quarter of the staff had quit.

The squeeze on teachers' salaries was intensified by

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the removal of price controls in July, 1946. Struggling against rising prices, the traditionally conservative teachers talked strike. The teachers' walk-out in Norwalk, Connecticut, gave the cue to school people in New York. Sensing that a pattern was being established, they supported the rebellion with thousands of dollars. Though Norwalk authorities upped the education allotment by $65,000—a scant concession—the precedent had been set: strikes acquired dignity as a legitimate weapon in teachers' wage disputes.

In the fall of 1946, 2,500 New York teachers took their grievances to Albany, repeating their demands for salary adjustment and increased aid. Public concern expressed itself through press and radio as the educational crisis mounted. Dewey responded by requesting his Commission on Education to report the problem to the Legislature. The commission held an open hearing on November 15, and two months later recommended a temporary $300 bonus for each teacher.

This proposal was followed by the largest teacher strike in American history—that of 2,400 Buffalo teachers who were earning between $1,775 and $2,975. The city's mayor was unable to act because of his inability to raise the tax rate. The Governor—who had the power, the money, and the constitutional responsibility—remained silent. Schools shut down, teachers picketed in freezing temperatures, and sympathetic citizens served hot coffee. A compromise settled the strike in ten days, but the specific issue had been replaced by a larger consideration: the right of public employees to strike.

By March 27, Dewey had acquired the means to prevent similar disaffections: the Condon-Wadlin act, a measure outlawing strikes by public employees and imposing penalties on strikers who are re-hired. By substituting punitive legislation for the much-needed machinery by which public employees could redress grievances, the Governor's bankrupt labor policy stood revealed. The measure served only to inflame the teachers.

Buffalo also forced Dewey to revise his tactics. If the teachers were prohibited from striking by a vindictive law, the public insisted it was the Governor's responsibility to enact corrective measures promptly. So the Legislature produced the Feinberg salary law, a companion measure to the Condon-Wadlin act. The salutary sections of this law are those which attempt to provide a solution to the substitute-teacher problem; the provision for a single salary schedule, equating salaries on elementary and secondary levels; and a permanent salary increase of 20 to 33 per cent.

The teachers declared these increases were inadequate, and then attacked the Feinberg law on the serious threat implicit in two of its sections that predicate raises on "superior-merit" ratings and require that minimum percentages of the staff be certified "superior teachers." This rating plan is not a recent invention: it has been tried and discarded before as leading to political and sectarian pressures.

Dr. John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, has cautioned, "No system [has] been devised to determine how many dollars one teacher is better than another." In past practice, superior merit ratings had rewarded superior subservience. In the hands of reactionary administrators, it had been used to cut salaries and to crack unions.

To finance increases called for in the Feinberg law, the Legislature enacted the Burney-Dewey nuisance taxes. These excises, imposed by option of the community, fell most heavily on those least able to pay, and served only to create a reservoir of ill will against demands for teacher-salary raises. Local civil leaders balked, and requested that the Governor finance the increases from his huge state surplus. But Dewey, his finger to the winds of '48, had already earmarked these lush funds: corporation taxes were cut 25 per cent; income taxes, 40 per cent; and $200,000,000 was set aside for the projected Buffalo-New York highway.

The Young-Milmoe formula was introduced in the 1948 Legislature as an improvement on the archaic Friedsam plan. But a penurious "loose-change" substitute was adopted in the face of the rise in per capita income and in state revenues, the bulging state treasury, and New York's deplorable record—for a rich state—on education. Amazingly, it was revealed that the state's percentage contribution had actually declined in the critical years from 1939 to 1947.

There was one dissent to the report of Dewey's com-

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mission that decided a grant of $30,000,000 in state aid would be sufficient. Significantly, it was Dewey's own Commissioner of Education, Dr. Francis T. Spaulding, who felt compelled to issue a minority report objecting to the inadequacy of the increase and to the impairment of the "equalization factor" whereby schools in poor communities receive more assistance than schools in high valuation areas. The gesture was futile. The Young-Milmoe bill was voted down.

In the closing days of the 1948 session, the Legislature adopted a report to establish a state university. On such a bill, the Governor might have pegged his claim to educational statesmanship. The need for a state university is critical: New York ranks twenty-seventh in percentage of youth attending colleges and forty-seventh in aid to higher education. The Owen D. Young Commission, appointed by the Governor, studied the problem for two years before making its report late in the 1948 legislative session. It has resulted only in another Dewey-appointed commission, this time a Temporary Board of Trustees headed by Dr. Oliver C. Carmichael, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

The trustees have been instructed to formulate plans and make recommendations regarding the establishment of junior and state-aided four-year colleges, medical, and professional schools. They are to report annually until 1954, when a composite report is to be presented to the Legislature. Is it any wonder that Frederick McLaughlin of the P. E. A. suggests that, at the present rate, New York will have its university in two hundred years!

The bill is vitiated by typically ostrich-like finance proposals: capital requirements are to be shared equally by state and community; state, community, and students are to split operating expenses. Since the law recommends that facilities be established in poor communities to obviate competition with existing private institutions, it is doubtful whether towns too poor to maintain kindergartens will be able and willing to support facilities for higher education. In brief, this may be the story of the missing state university.

In a recent telegram to the National Education Association, Dewey promised to discuss federal aid to education during his Presidential campaign. Liberals will await implementation of his promises with even greater eagerness.

Why Italian Labor Split

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, August 31

WHEN the minority Christian Democratic faction of the Italian General Confederation of Labor (C. G. I. L.) announced its decision in July to split with the Communist-dominated majority bloc, Catholic workers were as confused as leftists, and publicly opposed the action. Unity of the working class was a precept of the late Achille Grandi, the great Christian labor leader who helped found the C. G. I. L., and the Catholic worker, in these unstable times, considers unity indispensable to the defense of his rights and interests.

The walk-out of the eleven Christian Democratic labor leaders was carefully planned some weeks before the recent general strike arising from the attempted assassination of Palmiro Togliatti, although the strike is given as the reason for the split. Part of this plan was the creation of the Association of Italian Catholic Workers (A. C. L. I.), under the control of Catholic Action, the Pope's powerful "lay army" which exists, supposedly, for "cultural purposes."

Although the Lateran Pacts provide that Catholic Action, as well as the clergy, must not take part in politics, Pius XII—as Pius XI before him—attaches much importance to this organization.

Since the end of the war, the Vatican has become increasingly interested in organized labor, and Pius XII has gone out of his way to show he is a "workers' pope." Accordingly, he has taken a special interest in the A. C. L. I., which he has defined as a "nucleus of modern Christian apostolate and an indispensable means of apostolate." Giulio Pastore, the chief of Italian Catholic labor, recently described membership in the A. C. L. I. as "an open act of faith in Christianity and a total acceptance of the social program of the church."

IT IS significant that the Pope has once more taken direct initiative, through Catholic Action, rather than rely on the Christian Democrats. The Vatican evidently considers political parties to be unsuitable instruments for disseminating policy. Even a flourishing Catholic party is bound to earthly considerations that occasionally may run counter to the interests of the church.

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For example, Pius XI consented readily enough to the disbanding of Luigi Sturzo's Popular Party, when it appeared that Mussolini and Fascism would serve the interests of the church. The Vatican might even find it expedient, some day, to jettison De Gasperi and the Christian Democrats, if a stronger and still more docile group—such as the A. C. L. I.—were making appreciable headway.

Meeting in Siena recently, the leaders of Catholic Action invited Italians to consider the parish as the center of all social life, and praised the men who marched out of the C. G. I. L. Even more significant was their decision to maintain the "civic committees" that were formed before and during the election to further the anti-left cause. These "committees" have spent billions of lire in the gaudiest display of propaganda Italy has ever seen.

THE open interference of Catholic Action in political affairs has evoked a reaction from Saragat's Social Democrats and Pacciardi's Republicans. *Umanita* called it a "White Cominform." *Il Quotidiano,* the journal of Catholic Action, gave an unusually peppery response, deploring such ingratitude and reminding the offenders that whatever power they possessed was but a Catholic dispensation.

Despite the fact that the Social Democrats and Republicans had almost always joined with Christian Democrats in the C. G. I. L. against the Socialists and Communists, they voted against the split on the ground that it would provoke a revolt in their rank and file. This is proof—as I have repeatedly maintained—that the assumption by Saragat and Pacciardi that they are in the government to insure that the workers receive justice is self-delusion at best. The Social Democrats openly recognize that a split in labor ranks is a great peril, yet they have done nothing to prevent it.

The Socialists opposed the schism in the belief that a labor organization should not reflect the cleavage between East and West. Originally opposed to the split, the Communists quickly switched their tactics upon recognizing the inevitable, and made an attempt to lure the Christian Democratic workers by pointing to the retreating backs of their leaders. To emphasize this "desertion," the Communist majority expunged the Catholic members from the rolls of the C. G. I. L. two weeks after the walk-out. At the same time, they stated that the strike was a legitimate protest against an attack on a major working-class leader, and not, as the Christian Democrats had claimed, a maneuver to embarrass the De Gasperi regime.

The Christian Democrats were more than willing to quit the Confederation because, being in the minority, they could not dominate it. In the last syndical elections, they received only 12 per cent of the vote, while the Communists won an absolute majority. The Catholics then tried to neutralize the organization by insisting that it should keep out of politics. The A. C. L. I. is exactly what they did not wish the C. G. I. L. to be. In a propaganda booklet, Pastore has written:

> Independent of the political life of a party, the A. C. L. I. [does] not propose to remain indifferent before the big political problems of the national life, and especially before such matters, even political, as are of interest to the workers. . . . No active politics, therefore, but also no disinterest for politics when they refer to the social and political life of the country. To [its] members, whenever necessary, the A. C. L. I. will openly and loyally show the way to follow, and with regard to elections, [it] will invite [a] vote for that party which appears to be most faithful to Christian social principles and acts most effectively for their realization.

Even though an A. C. L. I spokesman has admitted that not more than 20 per cent of all organized workers will follow the new "democratic, apolitical and aconfessional" syndical organization, the split in the C. G. I. L. is very serious, both politically and economically, for Italy's working class. Unemployment has reached the fantastic figure of 2,500,000; production is only 65 per cent of 1938; the deficit amounts to 800,000,000 lire; prices of vital necessities (bread, for example) are steadily rising.

It is true that in most democratic countries there are two or more labor organizations, and that workers' interests do not necessary suffer from the fact. But such countries have a longer and steadier democratic tradition than does Italy. Furthermore, Italy's economy is in worse shape. France, Belgium, and Holland, for example, do not face Italy's problem of economic division along geographic lines: in southern Italy, medieval conditions still exist, and in the north, sweeping agrarian reforms are badly needed. Only the workers seem to realize that the two situations are closely connected, that they cannot hope to raise their social and economic standards unless those of the farmers are raised as well. An awareness of their interdependence has established a close connection between industrial workers and farmers, and one expression of it was unity within the C. G. I. L. It must be noted that this unity was independent of politics, as most workers belong to the left while most farmers are Christian Democrats.

Guided by the fact that the causes of the split in the C. G. I. L. are more important than the split itself, it is possible for the careful observer to conclude that social and economic reforms are now again about to be suspended. It seems, rather, that the government will use all the means at its disposal—including the Marshall Plan—to strengthen, rather than change, the present structure of Italian society.

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Homes for Chicago's D. P.'s

BY HOMER A. JACK

Chicago, August 30

CHICAGO is in the midst of another of its perennial—and little publicized—scandals. This time, it has to do with housing: specifically, the disgraceful malingering that has kept $18,333,333 worth of relocation housing in a paper stage for many months. The same forces that have prevented passage of the public-housing and urban-development features of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill are at work to cripple the Chicago counterpart of this national housing legislation, heedless of the distress of the many thousands of persons here crammed into one of the most degenerated slum areas in the United States.

The immediate issue is the selection of sites for an initial 1500 to 2000 dwelling units for low-income displaced persons who will be removed from slum areas slated for clearing and for redevelopment. The ultimate issue is whether Chicago is to be planned by unbiased technicians, by politicians and racists, or not really planned at all.

A decade ago, the Kelly-Nash political machine took over the autonomous Board of Education. Today, the Democratic machine, despite its reform façade, has its foot in the door of the autonomous Chicago Housing Authority—which several months ago was cleared, by a reluctant City Council, of charges of mismanagement, after an extended investigation growing out of the Fernwood project race riots.* While the politicians have not won the right, so far, to distribute patronage within the authority, they have definitely made inroads in determining C. H. A. policies.

Basically, the issue is racial. At least 50 per cent of the persons to be displaced are likely to be Negroes. And aldermen have repeatedly, if privately, stated that "the City Council will never approve a relocation housing site in a 'white' area." Remarks like this led Dr. James L. Adams, a Unitarian theologian and active civic leader, to preach from the University of Chicago's Rockefeller Chapel: "If the 'reform' mayor [Martin H. Kennelly] [does] not maintain civil rights in the relocation-housing program, Chicago citizens will then be justified in calling our city fathers 'Chicago Dixiecrats.' "

CHICAGO, like many other cities, is faced with the cancer of slums in some of its best potential housing districts. Earlier efforts to eliminate twenty square miles of blight largely failed. Now, the relatively new technique of urban development is being tried: public funds are applied against the costs of large-scale slum clearance, including relocation housing, and to write-off the inflated costs of the cleared land; the land itself is then sold at use-value, chiefly to private enterprise for planned rebuilding. In a tight housing market, the initial step must be to build new houses for at least a portion of the families to be displaced.

The C. H. A. is, by statute, required to build the relocation houses, but the sites it recommends must be approved by the City Council. Last December, a month after Chicago had passed a $30,000,000 housing-bond issue, the efficient and democratic C. H. A. made tentative site recommendations to the Housing and Redevelopment Coordinator, who promised to appoint an interagency committee to consider these and any other recommendations. This committee has never met, and the tentative C. H. A. selections—three or four large sites on vacant land in outlying areas—were unacceptable to Mayor Kennelly and the leading aldermen. Late in June, the C. H. A. recommended—with the mayor's blessing—four sites: three on small parcels in slum areas and one, a large parcel, in an oversized park. The mayor and a busload of aldermen, while viewing the park, were confronted with a protesting crowd. Its objections were ostensibly to the reduction of the size of the park, but basically to the inter-racial nature of the proposed project. This package of sites was immediately withdrawn by the mayor, without even a public hearing. Then, for five weeks, terrific pressure was put on the C. H. A. to produce "acceptable" sites.

In the meantime, civic groups mobilized under the direction of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination and the Public Housing Association, the latter headed by Elmer Gertz. They consulted planners and announced that the basic criteria for the selection of sites for relocation were that the parcels chosen should be large, should previously have been vacant land, and should, by their nature,

HOMER A. JACK is executive secretary of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, and vice-chairman of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. This article will be followed in a few weeks by a report from O'Brien Boldt, administrator of a veterans' housing cooperative in Philadelphia, on how construction of his project has been blocked by bigots.

* See Chicago Has One More Chance, by Dr. Jack in *The Nation*, September 13, 1947.

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break the existing residential ghetto pattern. The Chicago Commission on Human Relations emphasized the opportunity to implement the Supreme Court decision outlawing restrictive covenants.

For the first time in recent years, there was a serious division on the subject within Chicago's large Negro community. There were fears that the whole redevelopment program, including relocation, was a sinister attempt to "redevelop Negroes out" of the geographically choice neighborhoods near lake and loop, and further to restrict the land available to Negroes. Some of these fears are justified, and can only be answered by a more vigorous policy to protect the person and property of Negroes living in "new" areas and by a city ordinance declaring the public policy of the city to be against segregation and discrimination in housing. Such an ordinance would have to specify that all public and private beneficiaries of public funds, land, and improvements must carry on non-discriminatory housing policies. Efforts are still being made to inaugurate an efficient human-relations city police detail and an in-service police training program. The fair-housing-practices ordinance is being drafted, and will soon be introduced in the City Council.

But some Negroes and Negro organizations oppose the redevelopment program for unenlightened reasons. Politicians and business men with vested interests in segregation have spread confusion and aided in the formation of Negro property-owners groups that act with just as much bigotry and irresponsibility as their white counterparts. Their activities play directly into the hands of City Hall racists, who shrug their shoulders and mumble, "See, the Negroes want to stay on the Southside (the ghetto), near their work and their churches!"

ON AUGUST 11, nine new relocation sites were announced. They were unbelievably bad. A cardinal principle of urban redevelopment is to secure parcels of land large enough (100 acres or more) for the new development to create its own environment. Of the nine sites chosen, one is an outlying parcel of 34 acres; the average size of the eight others is 5.7 acres, and six or seven of them are located in slums or blighted areas. The relatively small projects (100 to 275 units) to be built on these sites—adjacent as many are to railroads, canals, traffic hazards, factories, and slums—will create no new environments and indeed will, almost from the beginning, be inundated by their surroundings. But Chicago's D. P.'s cannot be choosers, for the Housing and Redevelopment Coordinator—a dollar-a-year executive on loan from Marshall Field and Company—announced that relocation sites "should be in areas least likely to interfere with potential private development or neighborhood construction."

In addition to their other faults, only four of the pending sites are on completely vacant land. If they are approved, 131 existing housing units must be torn down immediately, and 213 in all before the redevelopment is completed. With twenty square miles of vacant land available within Chicago city limits and in view of the exisiting acute housing shortage, it is fantastic to have to find relocation housing for people displaced by relocation housing for people displaced by slum clearance! Furthermore, even if all these 231 "second-round-D. P." families had low incomes, they would be ineligible, under the law, to occupy the relocation projects. Their displacement is equivalent to subtracting 12 per cent from the addition to Chicago's housing units contemplated by the redevelopment appropriation.

Although the C. H. A.'s tentative original sites were opposed on the ground that relocation housing should not be used to spread Negroes into "white" sections, the city administration has made some concessions; 52 per cent of the units will be built on four sites in colored areas. These four sites will probably guarantee four Negro projects, despite a non-discriminatory tenant-selection policy. While some will consider this a gain, the pending relocation program will not distribute Negroes into new areas of the city as much as Chicago's emergency veterans' housing program—where eight projects in seven different "white" wards have interracial occupancy.

In those of the pending relocation sites that would perpetuate residential segregation, the city administration will be doing by site selection what the Supreme Court ruled private individuals could not do by restrictive covenants. One of the sites in a colored area is adjacent to an already overcrowded double-shift school. Another has been gerrymandered onto the "Negro" side of a railroad track, although similar land with no displace-

Drawing by Golden

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ment is on the "white" side. But this site is in the ward of Alderman John J. Duffy, chairman of the powerful City Council finance committee. Chicagoans, he wants it understood, should be grateful that he allowed a relocation project in his ward at all!

As soon as the sites were announced, the city-hall machine went to work to neutralize the opposition it expected from liberals. The Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council gulped obediently, announced that "progress comes slowly," and urged immediate acceptance of the sites. The politically dependent Chicago *Defender,* leading Negro weekly, headlined "No Bias in New Housing Plan." A week later, it admitted that "off the record, a great many [civic leaders] have raised objections to the plan." The usually independent Chicago *Daily News* went overboard, calling the program "laudable" and "far-sighted," and warning "professional friends of the Negro" not to object. The Chicago *Tribune,* chronically critical of C. H. A. and of public housing, called the sites "excellent selections . . . wisely chosen." Despite political pressure, fifteen city-wide organizations (including the C. I. O., the A. V. C., and the A. D. A.) urged that the package of five sites be broken up, and that the worst sites be dropped. The Chicago *Sun-Times* declared that "aldermanic horse-trading is a poor substitute for far-sighted and courageous city planning." Walter H. Blutcher, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials, inspected the sites, stated that a number of them would "hinder the proper rebuilding of the city," and asked, "Must the poor people, forced to live in public-housing projects, be eternally grateful for the privilege of living in crowded areas abutting upon railroads or . . . heavy traffic streets?"

After a tumultuous public hearing on August 23—in the course of which, John Ducey, chief C. H. A. planner, revealed that not one proposed site fully measured up to desirable standards—the City Council Housing Committee voted to approve the package without change. On August 27, the City Council voted, 40 to 5, in favor of the sites. They have yet to be approved by the Illinois Housing Board, but the well-oiled city machine, spurred on by State Street, real-estate, and racist interests, will win. For the issues are complex and difficult for the people most affected to disentangle. This is not the simple case of a Negro family being stoned by white neighbors. If it were, there would be a good chance of winning—even in Chicago.

Is Ceylon Independent?

BY ANDREW ROTH

IN LONDON, two years ago, the Foreign Office was emphatic: "If you're really interested in studying the transition of colonies to freedom, you must visit Ceylon. That's our showpiece: no violent anti-British feeling, no communal conflicts, just a nice peaceful transition to dominion status."

Although Ceylon and India are separated by only sixty miles of water, the contrast between them is striking. Ceylon is relaxed where India is tense. It has two distinct communities with clashing outlooks, but riots are unknown. Almost half of Ceylon's population can read and almost all can vote, while in India only about one-seventh can do either. Free education up through the university is in the offing, and progress is being made in public health. These conditions set Ceylon off from almost all Asiatic countries.

In part, a bountiful nature is responsible. Favored by heavy rains, particularly in the southern portion, the landscape is a lush green, in contrast to the poorly watered aspect of most of India. The country is not overcrowded: its 25,000 square miles—the area of Holland and Belgium together—have under 7,000,000 inhabitants; three-fourths of its arable land is unoccupied. Although most Ceylonese are landless agricultural workers earning a bare subsistence wage, the abundance of jackfruit makes it difficult to starve in Ceylon. The extreme contrast between the rich and the poor that one remarks in India is much less strikingly evident.

The friction between Sinhalese and Tamils, the two elements of the population, has never approached the bitterness of Hindu-Moslem feeling in India. The Sinhalese, some two-thirds of the inhabitants, are comparatively fair—owing to their partial Aryan descent—are usually Buddhists, and are settled in the more productive, better-watered south. The Tamils, dark like the Tamils of Southern India, to whom they are related, and with a similar religion, live in the higher, drier north.

IF EVER there was a brown Englishman, he is to be found in Ceylon," one observer has remarked. In the past, the educated minority took to English customs and the English language with such fervor that many completely disowned their cultural heritage. There is less of

This article was written by Mr. Roth before his trip to Malaya.

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this cultural toadying today, but Anglo-Saxon influence will certainly persist.

The leaders of Ceylon's political life have sometimes been described as "collaborationist nationals." Financial Secretary Sir Oliver Goonetilleke declared in London last year that his country hoped to remain "a little bit of England" and boasted that no English woman had been raped in Ceylon for a century! D. S. Senanayake, the leader of the dominant United National Party (U. N. P.) and Ceylon's first Premier, has expressed himself as completely satisfied with the "freedom" granted by Britain last year, and as being fairly certain it meant complete dominion status, although Ceylon, unlike Canada or Australia, cannot secede and, according to his own admission, is only allowed to reach agreements with India or the United States as long as these do not "conflict with British interests." "We are not going to drive people away," he declared; "the presence of the British and their capital will be no disadvantage." Most people feel he most emphatically deserves the British knighthood he is said to have refused in 1946.

Premier Senanayake's attitude is explained by his biographer's description of him as the "Sinhalese planter *par excellence*." Ceylon is the world's second largest tea producer and the third rubber producer. About half the rubber plantations and many of the smaller tea estates, as well as almost all the cocoanut plantations, are now owned by Sinhalese. Aspiring to rule the roost at home, these native planters are nationalists, but, with two-thirds of their exports going to Empire countries, they want to continue the Empire connection.

Ceylon's easy approach to self-government is due in large part to the fact that India has fought the main battles. What India has won by a long nationalist struggle has been passed on to Ceylon almost for the asking. Britain is particularly interested in keeping Ceylon happy because of the naval harbor of Trincomalee, which became the main Indian Ocean base during the war.

Drawing by Golden

Ceylonese Latex Carrier

The Donoughmore constitution of 1931, which gave the Ceylonese power to legislate on certain internal affairs, was exceptional in that it granted universal suffrage at a time when no other British colony and no wholly Asiatic country had it. There was no overwhelming demand for even universal male suffrage, but a literacy or property requirement would have favored the anti-British Tamil minority which made up a large section of the middle class. Universal suffrage, coupled as it was with the necessity to prove Ceylonese citizenship, which many Tamil estate laborers found difficult, was a way of favoring the pro-British Sinhalese. It was considered safe because there was no leftist movement at the time.

"We had responsibility without power," Mr. Senanayake complains of this constitution, and, in the thirties, pressure mounted for a greater transfer of power. When the Empire was declared at war in 1939, Congress ministries resigned in India because they had not been consulted, but in Ceylon, the leaders, except for a few leftists, supported Britain wholeheartedly. In India, the Cripps offer was rejected and followed by the fierce 1942 rioting; in Ceylon, the Ministers accepted the British government's May, 1943, statement that after the war the constitution would be revised in the direction of "full responsible government under the Crown in matters of internal administration."

THE Soulsbury constitution, now in effect, was drafted by a commission sent out in 1944. It provides for a Council of State with ninety-five members elected by territorial franchise—slightly weighted to favor the minority—and six nominated by the Governor. The Senate has fifteen elected and fifteen nominated members. In addition to these nominations, control over defense, external affairs, trade, and currency is reserved to the Governor, but immigration, franchise, tariffs, and shipping are in the hands of the legislature. Actually, the status of the island is not advanced much beyond that of a crown colony, since in the event of a breakdown the British government retains the right to legislate by Order-in-Council and the channel of communications between London and Ceylon is through the British Governor and Colonial Secretary.

When this constitution was presented in 1945, Ceylon was promised that after it had been in force for some time—ten years was contemplated—dominion status would be accorded. Then in June, 1947—on the heels of the announcement of dominion status for Pakistan and India—Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech Jones

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announced that after the Ceylon Parliament convened in October and agreements were negotiated on foreign affairs, defense, currency, and trade, Ceylon would achieve "that full degree of self-government which the term dominion status is generally understood to imply." These agreements have all been negotiated, and they bind Ceylon very tightly economically, militarily, and, somewhat less, in foreign affairs.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Senanayake is very happy about Anglo-Ceylonese relations, one section of the U. N. P. is not so enthusiastic and threatens to split off on this issue. "We cannot be satisfied with the announcement as satisfying our aspirations," asserted the astute S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Ceylon's No. 2 politician. "We display the common characteristics of a colonial economy," he complained, pointing out that Ceylon is dependent upon world rubber, tea, and cocoanut prices, and that when, as at present, rubber prices are low, there is a threat of severe depression. Moreover, Ceylon has to import most of its staple food, rice, and virtually all its cotton cloth. "Politically we have what appears to be self-government," he has said, "but economically we are still a colony. England can still enjoy the economic benefits of having us as a colony without the trouble of ruling us."

In spite of their differences, the "collaborationist" wing of the U. N. P. and the more independence-minded group of Mr. Bandaranaike went into last fall's election together, but won only forty-two of the ninety-five seats, polling strongest in the rural districts. Their candidates were in most cases members of well-known families whose campaigns are well financed, the plantation interests having minted money during the war when the prices of natural rubber and other products sky-rocketed. The number of millionaires increased from four in 1937 to seventeen in 1944.

The U. N. P. can claim certain concrete achievements in the expansion of health and education and the opening of new lands, but it is surrounded by the bad odor of corruption and self-seeking. One of the milder accusations is that the U. N. P. Ministers, who are said to control more than half the graphite interests in Ceylon, greatly increased their profits by decreeing that graphite workers should receive only 50 per cent of the high-cost-of-living allowance granted workers in other industries. Recently, the Minister of Health was forced to resign owing to corruption in his department.

THE big surprise of the election was that the left parties won almost a third of the seats, including fifteen for the Communists and Trotskyists.

Leftism got its first toehold in 1935 with the formation of the Samasamaj (Equality or Socialist) Party, made up of various shades of middle-class radicals and drawing inspiration from the visits of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, the famous Indian woman Socialist. It succeeded in electing two candidates in the 1936 election, and fought for many reforms—such as the abolition of the feudal headman system—which have now been accepted.

Under the impact of the events of 1939-40 it split into Communist and Trotskyist factions. The Trotskyists, who later split again, now have funds from some rich sympathizers, the support of a group of radical young Buddhist monks, and control of a number of clerical unions. Ceylon is virtually the only country in the world where Trotskyism has wide popular support.

The Communists would have done better, except for a regulation which prohibits the candidacy of persons convicted of political offenses. The Communist W. P. A. Wickremashinge, who won previously by 23,000 votes, was thus prevented from running again. When he went to London to plead his case, Mr. Creech Jones said he was unable to change the election regulations. After that, however, Creech Jones changed them to permit the candidacy of some twenty-eight U. N. P. members.

ALTHOUGH the left gained political strength while going down to defeat in the general strike of 1947, the stoppage was an uncoordinated affair which grew out of some run-of-the-mill strikes. Ceylon was in a slump: rubber prices were down 50 per cent, there was an adverse trade balance for the first time in many years, and the national income had dropped to half of its war-time high of 1,600,000,000 rupees ($535,000,000). Nearly 200,000 persons—one in every twelve wage-earners—were unemployed. Prices, however, were still skyhigh as a result of Britain's war-time inflationary policy and the rice hoarding and black marketeering of the Ceylonese. In May, after a strike in some engineering firms had spread to about 10,000 workers, 10,000 government employees rushed out because nineteen of their leaders had been suspended for calling a meeting to ask for citizenship privileges. (At present a government clerk cannot join a union or attend a political meeting, and neither he nor his wife can stand as a candidate for election.) Others walked out in sympathy, and when the general strike was at its height, 40,000 workers were idle, demanding a minimum wage, social security, political rights, and the like.

Actually, Ceylon is likely to go still further left, because in Ceylon the left is considered more nationalist, less corrupt, and more interested in popular welfare. And if Ceylon goes left, the Trotskyists, not the Communists, will benefit. Soviet Russia has been blocking Ceylon's admission to the U. N., and Ceylonese wits point out that the Soviet delegate, by building Trotskyism, is performing what would be a state offense in the Soviet Union.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Head and the Heart

FROM THE HEART OF EUROPE. By F. O. Matthiessen. Oxford University Press. $3.

LAST year Professor Matthiessen of Harvard spent six months in Europe lecturing on American literature, first at Schloss Leopoldskron near Salzburg, then at Charles University in Prague. In Austria, his audience consisted of students from sixteen European countries as far apart as Finland and Spain, Denmark and Rumania. As former resistance fighters, concentration camp prisoners, or soldiers, these students were accidental survivors of one of the worst decades of European history. Their interest in American literature was neither of the academic nor the aesthetic variety, but one born of a concrete need for more than journalistic information about an America that for many Europeans looms today as ominously in the West as Russia in the East. In Prague, too—Prague before the Communist putsch in February—many of the students in the more usual classroom audience were plagued by the necessity to decide between the rival claims of "capitalist" America and "communist" Russia. Against the background of the physical and moral ruins of World War II, with the prospect of World War III ahead, the American teacher sought and found close contact with the students and their ideological problems—they were no others than his own.

Except for short descriptions of the more physical aspects of contemporary life in Salzburg, Munich, Prague, Budapest, and Copenhagen, "From the Heart of Europe" consists of a continuous discussion of the position and the actions which ought to be taken by the intellectual who suffers under the vulgarities and injustices of a predominantly commercial society and seeks his proper place in the struggle for a social order in which both the ideals of political freedom and of economic equality may be realized as far as is humanly possible. Thus, Mr. Matthiessen has written, as he himself says, "less a travel book than a journal of opinions" of whose autobiographical character he is fully aware. This reviewer can but respect him for the candid honesty with which he has drawn a portrait of himself, and for his courage in publishing it.

Professor Matthiessen informs us that his "six months of detachment from America" gave him a "renewed sense of the responsibility of the intellectual—a word honored by William James and much scorned by fascists—of the necessity for him to be as true as possible to what his experience has taught him, and to speak for those truths as truly and as fearlessly as he can." He states "those truths" as he has found them for himself: He is neither a Communist nor a Marxist for he finds "any materialism inadequate" and has accepted the doctrine of original sin "in the sense that man is fallible and limited, no matter what his social system." He would call himself a Christian Socialist "except for the stale and reactionary connotations that the term has acquired through its current use by European parties."

In discussing a wide range of issues from this theoretical position, Professor Matthiessen has many pertinent things to say, whether he is criticizing the Russian policy on art, the domination of American universities by conformist trustees, or the nihilism to which many former left-wingers have fled since the original idealism of the Bolshevik revolution was replaced by the allegedly practical policies of Stalinism. But he himself falls victim to an embarrassing positivism when he assures himself that the Russians, "whatever their failures in practice so far, however short they may have fallen of some of Lenin's aims through the grim pressures of dictatorship, have not been deflected from the right of all to share in the common wealth." This postulate ignores the exorbitant differences in income which characterize the "workers'-state" economy and it treats the grim pressures of dictatorship as if they were an extra-human phenomenon like the weather. Mere logic would demand comparable treatment of the milder forms of pressure practiced by the "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" in democratic countries. But whereas the failures of capitalism are roundly condemned, we get only exonerating regrets for the horrors of Stalinism, the regrets of a family member for the shortcomings of a beloved father.

Before leaving Prague in December, 1947, Professor Matthiessen wrote that if Czechoslovakia "can continue to advance into socialism without the authoritarian coercions of the one-party state, it will have demonstrated the basis for possible forms between the traditions of the East and West." A few weeks later, the authoritarian coercions were a reality in Czechoslovakia. Professor Matthiessen publishes the very interesting and moving letter of one of his Social-Democrat students who attempts to justify his acceptance of Gottwald's dictatorship. Among other things, the unhappy correspondent writes: "We preferred to give up part of our individual freedom to save the economic freedom of the whole nation. We realized very well that every opponent of Communism had to enlist, willy nilly, into the mercenary ranks of capitalism." Professor Matthiessen seems to agree with this tragic statement. Quite aside, however, from the fact that Czechoslovakia's economic freedom and even its well-being was certainly less threatened by the Marshall Plan than it is today by Russia's needs, the flight of many Czechs of unquestionable Socialist convictions who have no intention of joining the ranks of capitalist mercenaries proves that the black-and-white school of characterization is as crude and untrue to life in politics as it is in literature.

Professor Matthiessen declares with disarming naïveté: "If I lived in France, I don't quite see how I could help being a Communist." In England he would become "a supporter of the younger left-wing group of the Labor Party." In America, consequently, he has cast his lot with Henry Wallace. Obviously his political actions are less governed by those truths which he has found for himself than by those noble feelings and immature longings which are exploited by demagogues every-

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where. There is small hope for the genuine American Labor Party for which Professor Matthiessen pleads as long as eloquent political dilettantes continue to confuse the issues. The difference between socialism and Stalinism is not one of mere method. The first builds on the foundations of the Bill of Rights, the latter destroys them. The ideal of socialism is the free moral personality, the ideal of Stalinism the well-fed robot. Perhaps mankind on its tortuous way will have to pass through another period of slavery but no admirer of Shakespeare and Melville ought to help us into it, however innocently.

FRANZ HOELLERING

Nunc Dimittis

Adam is lingering to address the lady,
although she does not hear him where she lies.
Solemn, respectful, he has come on tiptoe,
as a man should when such a lady dies.

But habit lays its heavy hand upon him—
Adam, who came for thirty years or more,
bringing his arguments and garden produce,
summer and autumn, to the kitchen door,

shaking his thick-nailed, earth-brown finger at her,
the lady small and spare and ramrod-spined.
On Wilson, Debs, the Roosevelts, or Russia,
the two of them were never of one mind,

though he had tried his mortal best to teach her
precepts that seemed to Adam primer-plain:
though he would rise each morning from the ashes
of contradiction, to begin again.

Habit is strong. He bows to her, but briefly,
before he launches out with feverish speed,
his fervor buttressed carefully by logic—
logic and fervor . . . Still she does not heed.

She does not even offer him rebuttal,
she who so often clipped his argument.
Silence is now his only adversary,
novel and baffling, mute and eloquent.

She will not spend eternity in error
if he can ease her sorry circumstance.
Breathless, he stops, and bows, and sighs, and leaves her.
He has tried. He has taken, and given, the final chance.

CONSTANCE CARRIER

Fiction of a Poet

THE WORLD IS A WEDDING. By Delmore Schwartz. New Directions. $2.75.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ writes fiction as a poet and not as a chronicler. For him, the history of the New York Ashkenazim from the nineties to the present is symbolic of what has happened to man everywhere. Yet his poetic economy, depending often on deliberately emblematic platitudes, allows so little space for what used to be called local color and results in such deceptively flat narrative that I wonder, indeed, how much "The World Is a Wedding" is going to mean to the *goyim* in the hinterlands who are unacquainted with this history. Had I not known something of it, I doubt if its relevance as a symbol would have seemed as great as it does.

At their best, these two short novels and five stories talk about what happens instead of presenting it directly. The dominant voice is that of the middle-aged, lower-middle-class Jewish mother. Sometimes we hear her directly; sometimes we listen to her through her son, an intellectual, an alien, yet her son. She ruminates aloud, often inconclusively, on family matters: birth, marriage, death, the conduct of life as it relates to success (in terms of money or prestige), and the recurrent and puzzling failures of sons who have been given "every advantage."

In this world, the central economic fact is the Depression. Before, the first generation prospered mildly, and most of them weathered it. But the center of attention is the second generation, the disappointing and disappointed whose marriages do not prosper, who cannot enter the professions because there is not money enough to get them started, who are not successful in business because there are no jobs. They leave college in the late twenties or early thirties; they work at what they don't like or sit at home, until first the WPA and then the war rescues them with unsatisfactory employment. They are alienated from family by superior education and by their failure to get on in the world as well as they did in school; they are alienated from one another by the bitterness of idleness and frustration. For some of them, the end is what Mr. Schwartz refers to as the post-Munich sensibility: "complete hopelessness of perception and feeling."

I have read no fiction of late whose content seemed so completely lived and comprehended—all communicated in the sparsest and barest of prose, a whole society, the generations, breathing and talking endlessly. Given this concern with most of the central anxieties of modern life, it would be easy for the author to fall into self-pity. Except for two unfortunate stories, New Year's Eve and A Bitter Farce (the most obviously autobiographical of the group), an intellectual astringency keeps Mr. Schwartz out of this kind of difficulty. It is a measure of his skill that the best piece in the book, the fine short novel, "The Child is the Meaning of this Life," appears not to depend on exclusively private experience.

The mother-son relationship is central in this book. Fathers die young from having tried too hard to make money, or run away from their wives, or achieve insignificance by failing to get rich. The maternal wisdom is largely

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material, compounded of the facts of life, born of European oppression and the recent disappointments that one's husband has not, after all, become a millionaire, that one's son will not be what, for one's own sense of success, one wants him to be. This is the wisdom of the richly unpleasant Laura of the title story, whose relation to her brother is maternal; of the mother of Shenandoah Fish, "a youthful author of promise" and the central awareness in four of these stories; and of the wise Ruth Hart in "The Child is the Meaning of this Life." The greater wisdom, Schwartz makes clear, is, when it can be managed—but how can it be managed save by compassion and endurance?—the wisdom of the heart. In this sense, Ruth, the matriarch, and Jacob Cohen, the conscience of his immediate circle, are alike. In the title story, that wise account of the gyrations of a clique, Jacob observes in a moment of general emotional crisis that a man "might as well be dead if he doesn't know that the world is a wedding." That is the greatest virtue of the members of the clique. For all their jealousies and hatreds, they are bound together out of need and love. Yet there is always the discordant minor note. "How much money does he make?" the mother of one of them asks about a great teacher. "The world," shouts Laura, in tipsy frustration, "is a funeral." Such commonplaces as these, relevant to their contexts but not confined to them, which the reader must work out as best he can, are examples of the emblematic platitudes I spoke of.

A solemn statement on the jacket confides that in this book the Jew has been used as "a symbol of modern man subjected to the profound disorders and conflicts of modern life," and that in this sense it is in the tradition of Proust, Joyce, and Mann. But Mr. Schwartz's Shenandoah Fish, who suffers "innumerable anxiety feelings which had their source in events which had occurred for the past five thousand years," and his Samuel Hart, a would-be bourgeois, the defender of a status quo in which he has always been either misfit or petty outlaw, must be considered first in the context of a middle-class New York Jewish society. The careful scrutiny of their plight in terms of a particular milieu, and the poetry which clothes that scrutiny—in a wonderfully deliberate flatness—are the virtues of this book.

ERNEST JONES

The Small State's Dilemma

NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION. By Alfred Cobban. The University of Chicago Press. $3.

POLITICAL scientists agree upon the necessity of clarifying the idea of national self-determination and of restricting national sovereignty. Self-determination having become the hapless catchword of the Paris peace conference thirty years ago, Professor Cobban correctly observes that "by wrapping up national sovereignty in the idealistic language of self-determination, the peacemakers concealed from themselves the flaw in the system they had created."

Admittedly, the principle of the nation-state, in its modern development, "leads both to national and international disaster." But what, we may ask, is the substitute? Professor Cobban thinks it is not too late to put the clock back to that age when, in the absence of any idea of national sovereignty, national cultures flourished. There are, indeed, three great multi-national states: the United States, the British Empire, and the Soviet Union. But Britain was putting the clock ahead, not back, when it granted the Dominions "self-determination by consent," and it was far-seeing prudence that gave the Caribbean and Central American communities political independence. The Soviet Union offers a different picture. I would not call it a supra-national state, because this adjective fitted rather better the dynastic Great Russian Empire in which the Czar was simultaneously the head of the empire and of the Orthodox Church. In the Soviet Union, the "new form of patriotism" has succeeded in stimulating the national cultures of the autonomous republics because the spiritual bond of Stalinism unites all its peoples and a rigid military discipline (passed over by the author) checks the unbelievers.

The course of events since this work was written in 1944 confirms the author's statement that the elimination of Western control would result in the Balkanization of the East. Professor Cobban convincingly demonstrates that only federalism or relationship with a larger state guarantees the political security and economic prosperity of small communities. There is, however, some inconsistency in an argument which states that if smaller nations wish to prosper they are bound to integrate their economic policies into broader economic systems or be at the mercy of great powers, and yet at the same time asserts that major economic decisions do not lie within the scope of small nations at all.

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Ultimately, self-determination becomes manifest in the problem of how small states can survive, since in multinational areas like Transylvania or Thrace self-determination is meaningless, whereas in great and powerful states the problem does not arise at all. "Great powers," as the author puts it, "can only succeed permanently by gaining the cooperation of the smaller nations." He nevertheless believes that "the dependence of small nations on the great powers is more absolute now than ever before." This apparent contradiction gives rise to vagueness in the concept of nation.

As a high-ranking scholar of political science, the author *a les fautes de sa qualité*. He deals without bias or prejudice with all the ramifications of his subject, but he is bound to neglect the aspect of practical politics. In spite of his apposite discussion of the Indian or the Palestinian situation, the fundamental problem remains entangled in the unholy trinity of nationalism, self-determination, and sovereignty. These are the ghosts that still haunt the daily life and the future of mankind.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Out of the Jungle

EFFECTIVE LABOR ARBITRATION. The Impartial Chairmanship of the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Industry. Industrial Research Studies XXXIV. By Thomas Kennedy. University of Pennsylvania Press. $3.50.

IF THE Congressional committees that whipped up the Taft-Hartley Act and the Senators and Representatives who voted it into law did not look into the development of orderly procedures to settle and prevent industrial disputes, they failed to do their job thoroughly. If they knowingly ignored what had been accomplished through the agency of the twenty-year-old closed-shop labor agreement in the full-fashioned hosiery industry, with its unique and intriguing impartial chairmanship, they made a serious blunder.

In compiling the labor history of this industry, Mr. Kennedy and his research associates have done a highly creditable job of analyzing and tabulating the more than fifteen hundred arbitration decisions that have been made since 1929. Space does not permit here as penetrating an analysis or as revealing an exposition of the many facets of this closed-shop agreement as it deserves. Kennedy is not merely an observer; he has participated in the functioning of the agreement and its interpretation. That he is aware of some of its shortcomings—particularly of the difficulties under which the impartial chairman operates—is evidenced by his specific criticisms and suggestions for improvement.

This agreement does not cover the entire industry; it covers only the unionized portion, representing approximately 50 per cent of the industry's production. It grew out of a recognition, by the union and by a considerable number of hosiery manufacturers, that industrial warfare did not pay. Strikes and lockouts were numerous. Manufacturers had lost markets—especially to the non-union shops of the South—workers lost wages, the union lost members and faced a depleted treasury.

Originally consummated in 1929, the agreement has been renewed regularly at two-year intervals, and modified and clarified as experience dictates. When it was first made, there were fewer than 3,000,000 organized workers in all industries. Today, there are more than 15,000,000, yet few industrial set-ups appear to have arrived at this kind of adjustment machinery which lends stability and continuity to labor relations.

A study of the evolution of intelligent human relations in the hosiery industry is certainly warranted on the part of managers of industry—whether they be bank presidents, sales managers, production executives, officials of wholesale or retail establishments, officials of radio networks, newspaper owners or editors—because all of them have this problem of labor relations on their doorsteps in one form or another, and all of them are stumbling about without knowing quite where to take hold of it.

The unique institution of a continuing impartial chairmanship, with the impartial chairman named in the agreement for its two-year life, is one thing that searchers after industrial peace can reach for. This, of course, as Kennedy makes clear, is not the full answer. The agreement properly provides for limitations on the chairman's authority. He may not change the agreement, he may only interpret it. Under the following unusual provision, which is worth quoting because it is rarely found in any labor agreement, he is made a genuinely influential and responsible umpire:

> Any and all matters of dispute, difference, disagreement or controversy of any kind or character between the union and the association and/or member involved, involving or relating to wages, rates, hours, conditions of work, and the relations between the parties, arising during the term of this agreement or any renewal thereof, including but not limited to the interpretation, construction or application of the terms of this agreement, shall be submitted to the impartial chairman for final and binding decision by him.

It is under this clause, I think, that what Kennedy refers to as the "body of common law" has been developed in the hosiery industry. Thus, in addition to rendering decisions in arbitration cases, which have been incorporated into this common law of the industry, the impartial chairman, because of continuity in office, has had a salutary influence on the development of intelligent labor policy in all of the association plants. Many industries engage arbitrators to handle one case or a few cases; rarely do these specialists have an opportunity to get the "feel" of an industry as they would have under the impartial chairmanship system.

Under the agreement, the management has the right of selection of personnel, but the union has certain approval rights. Management, too, has the right to "initiative" with respect to new styles, new methods, new equipment, but the union reserves the right of appeal. The "no-strike-and-no-lockout" provisions have been rigidly adhered to On the one or two occasions over the years when there was local violation, the impartial chairman clamped down quickly and firmly on both parties.

Both have a selfish interest in helping to make the agreement a success;

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the open shop, or non-union section of the industry, is a menace to both. This, rather than affection for each other, may be a more potent force in keeping them together than even the author suggests. The union once voluntarily agreed to a reduction in wages in order to create a fund that manufacturers were required to use to purchase new, modern equipment.

No other executives need shy away from this important book because it is specifically about labor relations in the hosiery industry. Interested parties will find plenty of helpful suggestions about their own problems; once they get the covers open, they will not skip much. A few management engineers may be infuriated at the way piece rates are established, frequently by the impartial chairman, but here, too, practical industrialists will find plenty to think about.

The hosiery people do not need a Taft-Hartley act or any other similar restrictive labor act; they appear to have come out of the industrial jungle hand-in-hand on their own power.

JOHN M. CARMODY

Beethoven and '93

BEETHOVEN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Bishop Fan S. Noli. International Universities Press. $2.50.

VINCENT d'INDY has argued with much learning that the French events of 1793 had little or no influence upon Beethoven. With equal knowledge, Romain Rolland sought to prove that the master was an authentic son of the French Revolution. Neither opinion is the smallest help in listening to the great quartets, but the truth about the matter is surely of importance to one interested in the psychology of the creative mind.

The volume under review takes the Rolland view but is at pains to make a realistic, even naturalistic portrait of the man rather than an idealized one in the grand manner. It is good to destroy humbug, but I feel that the portrait here given more than borders upon caricature. Beethoven was a very ugly man, he was a bohemian, a heavy drinker of strong liquor, and he was not very observant of sexual conventions. He was boisterous, ribald, of tyrannical humor with his friends, often passionately wrongheaded, occasionally dishonest. But he was not a Pietro Aretino, and he was neither a Gargantua out of Rabelais nor a Caliban on a Falstaffian scale.

On the whole well written, "Beethoven and the French Revolution" is a curious little book, sometimes academic, as in the long and quite unnecessary bibliographical introduction, at other times grotesque in its dramatization, as when Bishop Noli says that the Ninth Symphony "was meant to exterminate" the aristocracy. "The sopranos holler and yell and shriek triumphantly like the market strumpets of Paris when they saw the guillotine chop off the head of Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI." And there is a displeasing note of prurience about many of the comments upon Beethoven's loves. The author's psychological insight does not match his candor or his great knowledge of his material. In referring to Fessler's "Views on Religion and Theology," a book in Beethoven's possession, Bishop Noli contents himself with saying that, "judging from its title," it preached religious revolution, but there is nothing obscure about the life and opinions of the Mingarian six-month Free Mason and Lutheran convert. With all his excesses and faulty perspective, Bishop Noli does, nevertheless, prove the greater part of his case. Beethoven certainly rejected the political and religious orthodoxy of the Viennese court and just as certainly felt himself to be spiritually allied with persons who actively struggled against the old order. And "pure musicians" notwithstanding, Beethoven undoubtedly believed that his radicalism was an important part of his being.

However, at this time of night the important thing is not to show that a man of genius reacts to the real world much as less gifted men do but to discover what part Beethoven's radicalism played in sustaining, or checking, his creative will. The book barely confronts the question, and when it does so, limits itself to the vulgar opinion that such works as the Eroica and the Ninth are a kind of grandiose harangue. "Beethoven and the French Revolution" is chiefly valuable as a list of references to relevant material. RALPH BATES

Christ. God, Man or Myth?

Did Christ Himself write down any record of His life? If so, where are these writings today? Do they exist in any museum or library or sacred shrine? Can you find a trace of them in the vast and mysterious subterranean archives of the Vatican in Rome? The answer is NO! Nowhere has any man been able to discover a single word that Jesus wrote?

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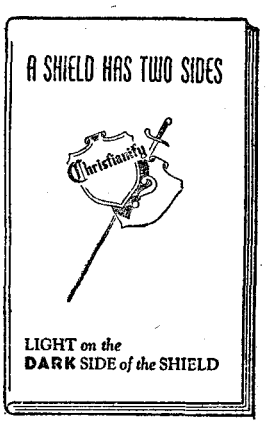

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN HIS "Companion to Mozart's Piano Concertos" (Oxford, $5.50) Arthur Hutchings, an English writer, explains that although it is forty years since Tovey's great monograph, "The Classical Concerto" (reprinted in the volume on concertos in "Essays in Musical Analysis"), the misconceptions about the Mozart concerto-form that it corrected still persist, and it is therefore "still a duty to spell out Tovey slowly." One can point out a further justification for a book like his—the fact that Tovey dealt with only a few examples of the form, so that there has been need of a book on the entire series—or at any rate a book in English, since Girdlestone's was in French (an English edition of Girdlestone has just been announced by Cassell). And Hutchings is evidently a man with the musical understanding and perception required for such a book—the understanding which enables him to place the concertos right up next to the operas at the top of Mozart's achievements; the perception which enables him to single out the most breathtaking detail in the finale of K.488 (though it also chalks up some astonishing failures).

Concerning the actual book, however, the first thing to say is that it is long since I have had to deal with material as confused and obscure in arrangement, statement, and meaning as the introductory analysis of K.466, with which Hutchings "spells out Tovey" and establishes "the generating principles of the most complex instrumental form yet known in western music," and the subsequent discussions of the other works. In fact I have, much of the time, found myself unable to deal with it—that is, get any sense from it—at all. For example, I have found it impossible to spell out the diagrams in the terms of the details of the forms whose complexity of arrangement they are intended to represent (the diagrams, I might add, do not represent the further exciting complexity of modification of substance in its progression which is superimposed on that of mere arrangement.)

The second thing is to say that it is this complexity which Hutchings is almost entirely concerned with, and that it certainly is there and should be demonstrated; but that Tovey's point-to-point presentation conveyed something else which is there: the exciting effect which the complex form was contrived to produce—as it disclosed itself, detail after detail—on listeners' minds. It is something one would expect Hutchings to do; for I said before that he has the perception which enables him to single out the most breathtaking detail in the finale of K.488, and certainly he must know what makes it so breathtaking: its place in the sequence of the movement, its relation to an earlier occurrence. But if he knows he doesn't tell: he singles it out, in a rondo made, he says, of "shallow materials," as "one spot that takes the smile off one's face (Ex. 154), not because the merriment ceases, but because one is suddenly made aware of the presence of genius. The attention demanded by genius (for reasons which the psychologist may explain) brings the involuntary respectful attention which is given to solemn art. One may do less than justice to the English and Teutonic races in supposing that they respect a work of art in direct relation to its solemnity. If we do not share that widespread mistake, we shall not regard Ex. 154 as the finest passage in the rondo; rather shall we enjoy transition writing like Ex. 151 and 152 which no composer but Mozart could spin so delicately." And his discussion of the movement is not the description of the course of events that would enable us to follow with delight the operation of the Mozart mind in all the detail of its exuberantly, unendingly inventive activity, and to appreciate with laughter and tears the surprise stroke of genius in Ex. 154 or chuckle at the delicious effect of Ex. 152 the third time it occurs. It is, instead, chit-chat like what I have just quoted, about the kind of rondo the movement is and the kind it is not. And even in this chit-chat about the movements of individual works there is no orderly progression, but rather a hopping about that is one of the things which make it difficult and at times impossible to follow.

VAUGHAN WILLIAMS'S Fantasia on a Theme of Tallis has been recorded for Columbia by Reiner and the Pittsburgh Symphony (Set X-300, $3.50). This is a lovely work, and the only one by Williams that I have enjoyed listening to—though listening this time again I am aware that it is not entirely free of the Williams diffuseness. It calls for lots of rich string tone; and that is what comes off the records.

Debussy's "La Damoiselle élue," a setting of Rossetti's poem "The Blessed Damozel," and written in the pallid, mellifluous idiom of Debussy's youth, is beautifully sung and played by Bidu Sayao, soprano, Rosalind Nadell, contralto, the Women's Chorus of the University of Pennsylvania, and the Philadelphia Orchestra, under the direction of Ormandy (Set 761, $4.75). The performance is reproduced with beauty of sound and admirable balance of the elements in the ensemble.

Bach's "Italian" Concerto, with its wonderful slow movement between two engaging fast movements, and the Vivaldi-Bach Concerto in D, which I find uninteresting, have been recorded on the harpsichord by Sylvia Marlowe for American Decca (Set DAU-4, $7.35 for vinylite)—which is to say that they are subjected to the kind of pounding and distorting distention that is Miss Marlow's nerve-wracking style of playing, made worse this time by the unpleasantly sharp harpsichord sound that comes off the records.

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANZ HOELLERING is the author of two novels, "The Defenders" and "Furlough."

ERNEST JONES is a member of the English department of Queens College.

RUSTEM VAMBERY, formerly professor of criminology at the University of Budapest, has written extensively on the problems of the Balkans. He is the author of "Hungary—To Be or Not To Be," published in 1946.

JOHN M. CARMODY, formerly a member of the National Labor Relations Board, is a member of the National Academy of Arbitrators.

RALPH BATES is the author of a biography of Schubert. He has also published several novels, including "The Olive Field," "Rainbow Fish," and "The Fields of Paradise."

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The Fight to Lift the Ban

Some Contributions to Stop a Plague

Dear Sirs: Inclosed is my initial contribution to help stop the "plague." It is not important whether the New York Board of Superintendents ever reverses its decision in this matter. The important thing is that *The Nation* and other magazines that believe in liberty of thought and liberty of the press continue to do the things that need to be done . . . the printing of facts and the free voicing of editorial opinions are some of them. H. A. RAMSDELL
Evansville, Wis., August 7

Dear Sirs: I have done what I could in the way of protest as [an inclosed copy of a letter to Mayor O'Dwyer] indicates. I have also written the New York State School Board and the New York City School Board, as well as the New York Public Library, under the impression that the latter was involved. I received from Mr. Beals [Ralph A. Beals, director New York Public Library] a reply indignantly repudiating any connection with the matter, and asking that I give the lie to any reports to the contrary.

MRS. CARLTON WHEELER SMITH
San Diego, August 19

Best Wishes

Dear Sirs: My interest and best wishes go with you in your crusade. I wish I had a million one-dollar bills, but perhaps there are a million people with a dollar each—which is lots better.

FRANCES E. TRIGG
New York, August 17

Dear Sirs: Hell, yes! Would give $1,000 if I had it. ALEX HALONE
Thermopolis, Wyo., August 16

Dear Sirs: It is . . . an honor to assist humbly in your battle against obscurantism, and I inclose my check with the assurance that more substantial contributions will be forthcoming if necessity requires. It will be interesting to know how general the support will be in behalf of this vital social principle. The American public has acclaimed "freedom of speech." Now let's see if it means it. (It's no good if people are not permitted to listen.)

FRANK C. PATTERSON
Bay City, Mich., August 5

Dear Sirs: As a student and a believer in freedom of thought—a freedom that implies the right to the necessary tools for intelligent thinking—I inclose my contribution toward the expenses of *our* fight to lift the ban.

WILSON R. OGG,
University of California
Berkeley, Calif., August 10

Dear Sirs: I am inclosing my check . . . the ban on *The Nation* must be lifted. Now is the time to stop this squeeze on ideas which is beginning to spring up all around us in various forms. To be able to do anything is a privilege, and I'm glad to be able to contribute now and, if necessary, more in the future.

JEAN LONGMAID
Southwest Harbor, Me., August 16

Dear Sirs: I am inclosing my birthday gift (my sixty-second one) as a contribution to help in the cause of freedom. I do enjoy *The Nation*. I'm not only sending [a contribution], which is a small gift, but I'm praying that such magazines as yours will not be banned from anyone in these United States that wishes to read it. We as Methodists are proud of our Bishop Oxnam, who is doing his bit.

MRS. JAMES A. SPENCE
Tuscaloosa, Ala., August 16

For a Mission

Dear Sirs: The inclosed check is to be used in the fight to lift the ban . . . in New York or wherever such a ban is placed. *The Nation* really has a mission, and the whole world would feel its loss, for inevitably the people who shape policies and attitudes are influenced by what they read in your pages. MILDRED M. ATKINSON
Covington, Ky., August 12

Dear Sirs: I have been a subscriber to *The Nation* for over twenty-five years, and I have always admired the sometimes heroic stand it has taken in defense of righteous causes. For this reason, among others, I was much pleased at the courage you displayed in venturing the publication of the recent articles . . .

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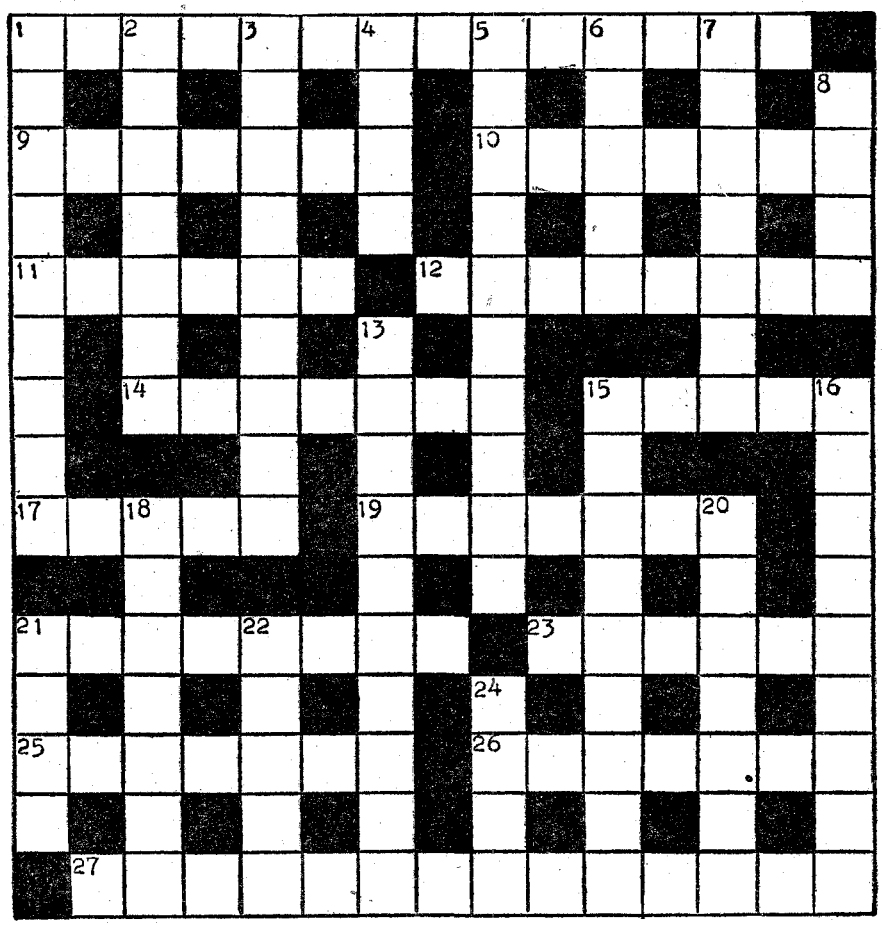
Crossword Puzzle No. 278

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Is the law-breaker canvased for his inclinations? (8, 6)
9 Beginners have no bad habits, of course! (7)
10 Found alone, Mr. Philanthropist, perhaps. (7)
11 Rode in state in India. (6)
12 Three places to the left of a point. (8)
14 How books that seem lost might be recovered. (7)
15 A poet implied they're folded when people are robbers. (5)
17 Not a forward-looking article to pen! (5)
19 You'll find real class in the woodbin. (7)
21 Masterpiece of alloy, or how they once carried mail over their arms. (8)
23 and 13. Almost a television outlet, but it stinks! (6, 6, 4)
25 F. N. D. as a title. (7)
26 Raiding parties. (7)
27 Perhaps one might be, by standing next to a full-length mirror. (6, 4, 4)

DOWN

1 See 5.
2 Drive an intruder out of it. (7)
3 Twisted by a curl in this, irremediably. (9)
4 Ran to make it out of the running. (4)
5 and 1. When all hands are off watch, it's likely to be like this too. (2, 1, 3–4, 9)
6 Tiny fellow I'd recognize as bashful. (5)
7 Material in which a little girl of 20 looks sharp. (7)
8 The apple of one's eye? The flower, rather! (4)
13 See 23.
15 D. (3, 6)
16 and 21. One doesn't use them in riding wild steers! (7, 2, 4)
18 Just a little bit of this—usually not found near the curb. (7)
20 She was admonished in musical comedy. (7)
21 See 16.
22 This mountain is in a turmoil, obviously. (5)
24 A pair sleeps on its return. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 277

ACROSS:—1 PAGEANTS; 5 ADAGES; 10 ONE IF BY LAND AND TWO IF BY SEA; 12 EXTOL; 13 ORNAMENTS; 16 DECEMBER; 19 TELEGRAM; 22 DATED; 24 ATTITUDES; 26 LASSO; 28 CATHODE; 29 CISTERN; 30 SHRIFT; 31 FLAXSEED.

DOWN:—1 PROVERBS; 2 GHENT; 3 AFFILIATE; 4 THYROID; 6 DENIM; 7 GRAIN BELT; 8 SADIST; 9 CLINIC; 15 SPECTATOR; 17 MIDDLESEX; 18 ADJOINED; 20 RUDDER; 21 MUSICAL; 23 FASCES; 27 SCENE.

but I give this with the hope that those who are able and who sense the danger you have uncovered may be able to make up what I am unable to give at present.

ROSSETTER COLE

Chicago, August 15

For Integrity and Courage

Dear Sirs: Inclosed is my contribution. . . . There is no other publication of *The Nation's* integrity, courage, and clarity today. That it should be scratched by the witch-hunters is indeed a blow to all of us. V. R. LANG

Boston, August 7

Dear Sirs: I have been a reader of *The Nation* for some time and have appreciated its courageous handling of the great issues that face us. Since *The Nation* has never failed to come forward in support of the plain people, it is the plain people who must support it now. Censorship cannot be tolerated in any form! That is why my family and I have inclosed a check. . . . I wish we could afford more. HARRY CLOR

Milwaukee, Wis., August 17

Dear Sirs: It is a pleasure to inclose a check. . . . Every day I appreciate your magazine more, and realize the courage it takes these days to continue a campaign for the truth.

RONALD H. SIMS

Downey, Calif., August 6

Dear Sirs: We are inclosing [a contribution] to be used by your committee in its efforts to correct an obvious imposition on *The Nation* as a publication and indirectly on every individual who feels that no group or organization should be above scrutiny, analysis, and honest criticism whenever such a group is vested with public responsibility.

SAMUEL HILLMAN
CLAIRE HILLMAN

Chicago, August 17

Dear Sirs: Inclosed is my contribution. It is a small one, but I give large thanks to the editors of *The Nation*: it is a wonderful, inspiring magazine. Good luck! JEAN HERMANSON

Fargo, N. D., August 18

Dear Sirs: More power to you. Expose any of us in the field of religion. In the Protestant groups there is too much that is border-line fascism.

REVEREND RALPH B. IMES

Arena, Wis., August 18

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Dear Sirs: I enclose a trifling contribution for your most important of all campaigns. In spite of my taking more periodicals already than I can afford, your courage in this matter indicates that *The Nation* is a *must*. What are subscription rates?

C. PATIENCE HAGGARD,
Dean of Women,
State Teachers College
Potsdam, N. Y., August 16

Dear Sirs: It gives my husband and me the greatest pleasure and satisfaction to send Mr. MacLeish our small checks to help along the vitally important crusade his committee is waging, not only for the sake of *The Nation*, but more important still, for the cause of free thought and free expression in general.

Mr. MacLeish has correctly stated that the momentous struggle between "the American tradition of freedom of the mind, and the ancient, evil practice of censorship" is now definitely joined. Now all lovers of liberty must stand up and be counted, and do battle for the sacred right of every individual to think, and to express his honest thought.

EVA INGERSOLL WAKEFIELD
New York, August 19

Dear Sirs: I gladly contribute $1. Though not a subscriber, I read *The Nation* regularly and appreciate its liberal digestion of the news in this period of reaction and confusion. Your fight is the fight of every freedom-loving democrat.

DOUGLAS LEFFLER
Shelbyville, Ind., August 7

Dear Sirs: Here is my contribution, despite the fact that I found Blanshard's articles in the worst possible taste.

FREDERICK H. DOORS
New York, August 25

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on your determination to fight for the removal of the ban. Having followed the controversy, I know you must win. I am enclosing my contribution. I wish there were some additional way, other than through your magazine, of [apprising] the American public of the vital issues at stake.

As a public school teacher, I have seen constant threats of dictatorship by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and it was only last spring that a battle developed in the Teachers' League, bringing about a split into two groups along religious lines. I could quote many instances to prove that Paul Blanshard was 100 per cent correct.

JOSEPHINE HARRIS
Hartford, Conn., August 11

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Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

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"INFLATION IS COMING!"

Do not delude yourself into thinking inflation is here. It has come a long way, but prices will keep rising DESPITE ANYTHING we can now do.

Maybe you are making more money than you ever made in your life; maybe you're planning a new car, a new home, a new business—but before you spend one penny on any investment, *here are the facts you must face!* Inflation is leading to the *greatest financial disaster in history.* The President has warned about it; economists, thoughtful businessmen, leaders of all political parties are frantically trying to warn the people of the danger. *Yet prices creep upward in spite of them!*

Self-Preservation—or Blind Faith

Back in 1928, when bankers, brokers, businessmen, and economists thought the boom would never end—

When stocks, bonds, real estate, and commodities were shooting skyward—

When the optimists were preaching the gospel of "a new era," "we'll never see old-fashioned hard times again," and when "pessimists" were shunned like a plague, Ralph Borsodi raised his voice in warning. *A few listened; most did not.* Then came Black Friday and the bottom fell out of the boom—unemployment, the melting of paper profits, bank failures, bankruptcies, followed. The lesson of history is that *no nation in the world* has ever been able to stop run-away inflation once it got started—*and this one is off to a good start.*

The Time to Act Is Now!

Since 1941, Ralph Borsodi has lectured and written that our national monetary policy must inevitably end in disaster. War always creates an artificial boom—but the day of reckoning always comes. The forces of inflation and depression are loose again. The vicious cycle is in full swing now. *You will be foolish,* says Borsodi, *to believe anything can or will be done to stop it.* In spite of temporary declines, prices keep going up. Every rise makes the inevitable fall that much worse when it finally comes. *Since the beginning of the war half the purchasing power of your money—your salary, your bank accounts, your bonds, your life insurance — has already been wiped out.*

If you want the *truth*—if you have the courage to face the facts—if you want to know *what you can do now,* read Ralph Borsodi's plan for security, now and for the future. As Consulting Economist for many of the largest corporations in the nation, his plans have had to be practical. Even if you know nothing about economic laws, you will find this the clearest, most convincing book you can read. In simple words, pictures, charts and figures it describes conditions today, compares them with other inflations and depressions, proves *beyond the shadow of a doubt* that your future, and that of those dependent upon you, is in dire peril, *unless you act now!*

He predicted the 1929 crash! Ralph Borsodi

The distinguished author of "INFLATION IS COMING" was consulting economist to many of the largest firms in America including Dupont Rayons, R. H. Macy Co., Nat, Retail Dry Goods Ass'n, Spool Cotton Co., and the Edison General Electric Co.

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"Your book 'Inflation Is Coming' impresses me so forcibly I am buying copies to send to friends."—Engineer, Chestertown, Ind.

"Everyone connected with the future of our nation should read 'Inflation Is Coming!' My wife and I are like millions of other U. S. citizens living on a salaried income. We have war bonds, bank deposits and insurance and I think the information in your book is of special value to people like us."—C. B. B.

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News Item:

Washington.—The U. S. Bureau of Labor wholesale price index shows that prices are now 2.1% higher than last month; 12.9% higher than a year ago, and 216.2% higher than in 1939 when inflation started. Most economists agree that they will rise at the rate of at least 1.0% monthly during the coming year.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN says:

"We already have an alarming degree of inflation. And even more alarming, it is getting worse. . . . Even those who are well off are asking, 'How long can it last? When is the break coming?'"

VIRGIL JORDAN, *Economist, Pres. National Industrial Conference Board:*

"We are now in the most powerful, pervasive and comprehensive inflation process the world has probably ever experienced. . . . We may expect prices and wages to continue rising with variations . . . in one way or another."

Financier **BERNARD BARUCH** says:

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